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THE DECLINE OF INTROSPECTION IN NEW ENGLAND LETTERS,
WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF
HAWTHORNE, HOLMES, AND WILLIAM JAMES

BY

EASLEY STEPHEN JONES

B. A. University of Colorado, 1907.

A. M. Harvard University, 1913.

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918.

1918
J71

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 11 1918

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Easley Stephen Jones

ENTITLED The Decline of Introspection in New England Letters with
Specific Reference to the Works of Hawthorne, Holmes, and William James

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF Doctor of Philosophy

Stewart P. Sherman

In Charge of Thesis

Stewart P. Sherman

Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in*

Warren Kilham Dodge

B. H. Bode

H. S. V. Jones

Stewart P. Sherman

H. E. Paul
Gertrude Schoepferle

Committee

on

Final Examination*

*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

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THE DECLINE OF INTROSPECTION IN NEW ENGLAND LETTERS
with specific reference to the work of
Hawthorne, Holmes and William James

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR 1649

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

Printed by J. B. for A. MILLAR

at the Sign of the Sun in St. Pauls Church-Yard

1724

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CHAPTER I

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Introductory

The Origins in Religion

The New England Renaissance

Transcendentalism

The Year 1843

CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF INTROSPECTION AND THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE

Introductory

Introspection pervades New England life. Its deep persistence has become proverbial in the phrase "the New England conscience". Puritanism, Antinomianism, Quakerism, Arianism, Arminianism, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Swedenborgism, Spiritualism --- one -ism after another swept over Massachusetts, but the New England conscience outlived them all. The religious manifestations of two centuries, whether gloomy and rigorous, or buoyant and visionary, were characterized by a persistent inner search. The same influence permeated civil life; strange new political and social institutions sprang into the light of day, languished and declined into oblivion, but Yankee idealism and stubborn intuition carried from one reform to another and prospered from one generation to the next. An earnest inward searching curiosity evolved from the landing of the Mayflower to the writing of James' Psychology. It has left its abundant record in literature. From the meditative diaries of the early Puritans, who "inspected all their moral secretions a dozen times a day",¹ to the latest essay in the Atlantic Monthly, it has entrenched itself and become

1. Holmes, Oliver Wendell: Elsie Venner, p. 170.

an established tradition.

For the student of literature the phenomenon of introspection brings with it inevitable questions. What is it? Came whence? Through what changes? Related to what outer developments in religion, politics, economics, science? What elements fostered it? What elements, particularly in literature, were fostered by it? And what was the manner of its decline? These questions and more assert themselves at the outset. Some of these questions cannot be answered; some can be partly answered. The writer undertakes to answer the last one only, and that with certain qualifications to be later made. That is to say, I undertake, after having shown a certain continuity or evolution in the early history of introspection, to trace its gradual decline, particularly as manifested in the work of several authors a few decades apart, Hawthorne, Holmes, and William James. Other and larger questions enter into this thesis only as a background, and whatever indirect illumination they receive is gratuitous.

The term "decline" I use to mean the decline of hopes based on introspection, rather than a decline in the practice itself, although the practice itself abated as the hopes on which it was based successively withdrew themselves. The history of introspection comprises two long periods: a gradual rise through two centuries to its culmination in the transcendental wave; and after 1843 a slow decline, with now and then an astonishing recrudescence, to the end nineteenth century. This downward slope of the movement is marked by a successive abandonment of old hopes, or the transferring of the old hopes to new objects. For, to put the whole matter briefly, the original introspection of New England was religious, and was

fostered by the hope of holding direct supernatural communication with God. As the belief in the supernatural became discredited, new beliefs took its place: belief in an oversoul, in the divinity or at least the perfectibility of human nature; and these beliefs of transcendental days became the new motives for introspection. But the inevitable reaction came, despair of attaining any new and wonderful religious or philosophical truth by turning inward, the work of Hawthorne being the first to record the ebb-tide of transcendental hopes. Introspection then transferred its interests to psychology, and anticipated revolutionary discoveries in the field of the unconscious and the intuitions. The work of Holmes was first and greatest in this field, but it failed to attain any important new world of psychological truth. In the work of William and Henry James, the old hopes were largely discredited, and introspection gave itself over to scientific observation or esthetic musing. Even after belief in supernatural revelation, in the oversoul, in the divinity of the natural man, in the existence of latent or submerged powers of mind, had waned, introspection prolonged itself in the form of intellectual or esthetic curiosity; it persisted as a more or less pleasurable habit long after the original motives had disappeared.

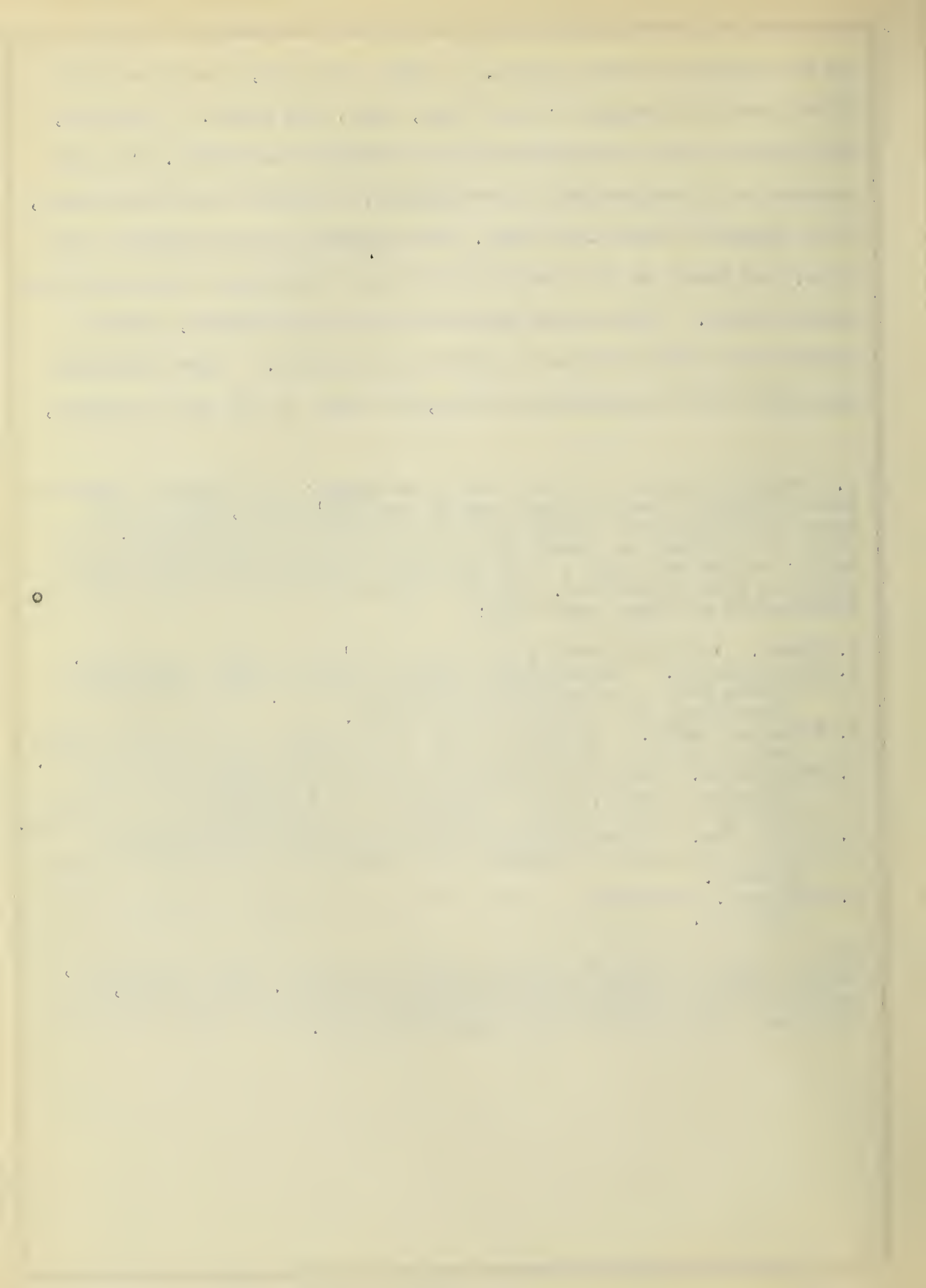
The term "introspection" includes many different types or aspects of the thinking process, all of which I have attempted to include within the scope of one broad definition. Introspection is thought turned steadily upon itself and on its own movements, for self-improvement, or in the hope of some discovery or good fortune,

or for pleasure through habit.¹ That is to say, the three forces that provoke introspection are fear, hope, and habit. Of these, the second is for our purpose by far the most important. For the history of introspection in New England, I cannot too often repeat, is a drama of unfulfilled hope. The Puritan had supernatural visions, and hoped to find God and be at one with him in the joy of the mystic state. After some generations the hope abated, and the supernatural world failed to yield its treasure. New inflowing hope came with transcendental days, the hope to see God in nature,

1. Introspection is a fluid term, like humor; it does not mean the same thing for the youth and age of one man's life, and it has meant very different things in different periods of history. I shall not attempt to prove that it is or ought to be one certain thing; on the contrary I shall attempt to exhibit its evolution from one form to another. In New England letters it is possible to distinguish at least six types:

1. Moral. An inquisitive interest in one's own moral condition.
2. Supernatural. Communication with a world unseen, unknowable by the senses or any other natural faculty. A new order of experience, the extreme mystic state.
3. Transcendental. Intuition, the possessing of knowledge by some faculty higher than the senses, but natural, not supernatural.
4. Subliminal. The functioning of thought in a resourceful involuntary manner, as if it made use of "subconscious", "subliminal", "unconscious", "latent", or not-normally-used powers.
5. Scientific. A sensibility to internal bodily disturbances, self-observation, combined with curiosity about the thinking process.
6. Esthetic. Indulgence in any of the above grown habitual, for pleasure.

This table is a kind of theoretical outline of the several types, in the order in which they presented themselves. The stages, separated here for purposes of analysis, actually merged one into the other, and formed an unbroken evolution.



and to develop natural powers latent within, the spiritual reservoir of intuition and genius. This movement began to languish, and passed on its bright enthusiasm to the next. Psychology promised new Americas of the mind, "unconscious", "subconscious", or "subliminal" forces, approved and sanctioned by science, where introspection might range from wonder to wonder, and the Infinite Mysteries might yet find an abiding place. How this last great hope failed, yielded up its few cold facts about instinct, heredity, and hypnotism, is the latest chapter in science. Psychology, even after inheriting the best that ten generations of New England thought could give, surrendered to the attacks of an empirical age, and the laboratory came to have greater authority than individual reason. Introspection, a habit through generations of practice, now partly emancipated from religion and philosophy, gave itself over to sober observations of science, or solaced itself with art and the opportunities for satisfaction that lie within the increasing bounds of the esthetic consciousness.

This long and reluctant decline is our proper subject. Yet since the later history of introspection cannot be fully understood without reference to the earlier history, the greater part of this chapter is devoted to a sketch of the origins of introspection, and its ascending development to the transcendental era. With the year 1843 our main interest begins, and thereafter the account proceeds with more fullness.



The Origins in Religion

Introspection in New England had its origin in religion, and specifically in two religions: The Puritan or Calvinistic faith, and the Quaker faith. Of these two, the influence of Calvinism was the greater, since it was the dominant church, numbering in its membership a large part of the population of New England. Quakerism had comparatively few active followers, but it was a powerful ferment, affected religious thought profoundly, and so accurately represented the course that New England thought was to take that Emerson later acknowledged it as a source of his philosophy,¹ and William James could declare that "The Quaker religion . . . is something which it is impossible to overpraise."² In the history of introspection, the census reports are not always the principal factors, and in this case we may say that, although the Calvinists outnumbered the Quakers more than a hundred to one, the influence of the latter was tremendous, and if the books which treat this matter err at all, it is in tracing everything back to the "Puritan conscience", and minimizing or ignoring the ancient Quaker philosophy of the Inner Light.

In considering the part these two religious systems played in shaping the introspective character of New Englanders, we may say

1. Hogue, W.: Life Notes or Fifty Years' Outlook, p. 174. The author records a conversation of the year 1832, in which Emerson, who had just abandoned the pulpit, asserted that "in the development of religions, we have outgrown all need of this externalism, or the like of it in any way whatsoever. This conviction has been intensified by fresh readings of the leading Quaker writers, with whom I find myself in sympathy."

2. James, William: Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 7.

first of all that there is in printed accounts a tendency to oversimplify Puritanism, to speak as if it meant some one thing; pessimism, fatalism, stoicism, or introspection alone. Puritanism had not one characteristic, but many; it was not the same thing in different people or different times, and it was not the same thing practically that it was theoretically. Puritanism on its theological-philosophical side taught (1) that God lives outside the universe, where he preordains what comes to pass, and interferes at any time in an arbitrary manner; (2) that the universe is under the curse of God, who vents his displeasure upon it in the form of evil, and will ultimately destroy it and all people in it save a few of the "elect"; (3) that knowledge comes from God through revelation rather than through reason, but that the capacity of man (and especially men not priests) for revelation is very limited, human nature being essentially corrupt. Such was the tenor of the Cambridge Platform of 1648, and, with more emphasis on man's capacity for revelation, such was the creed of the Mathers and Johnathan Edwards.¹

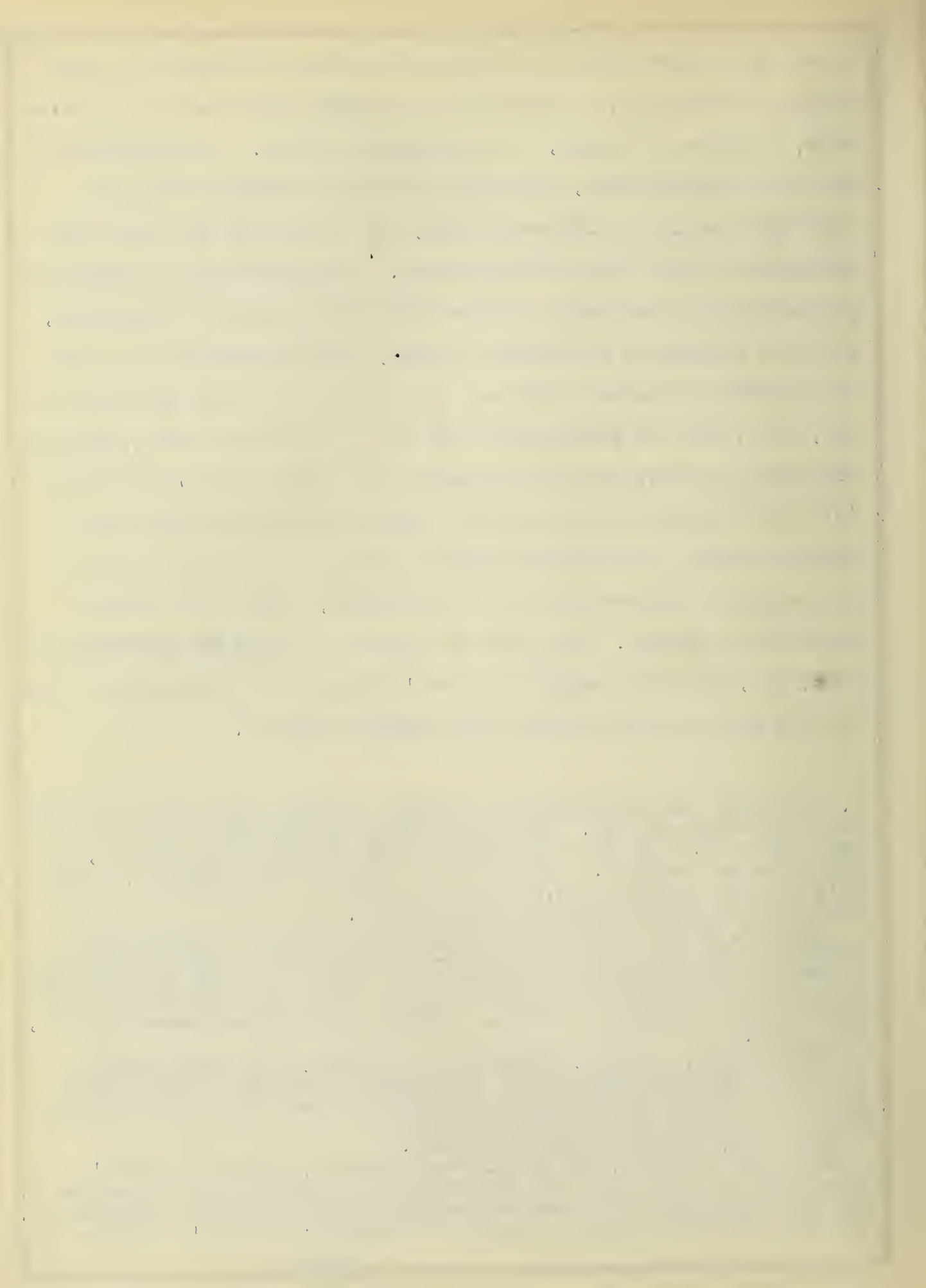
1. The harsh and hard aspect of Puritan theology persisted even into the nineteenth century. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who is one of the best authorities on the inner life of New England that we have, furnishes an instance. Here is the account of how Harriet, while only a young girl in 1826, sought to join the first church of Hartford and was interrogated by the minister. ---

"Harriet, do you feel that if the universe should be destroyed (awful pause) you could be happy with God alone?" After struggling in vain, in her mental bewilderment, to fix in her mind some definite conception of the meaning of the sounds which fell on her ear like the measured strokes of a bell, the child of fourteen stammered out, "Yes, sir."

"You realize, I trust, continued the doctor, "in some measure at least, the deceitfulness of your heart, and that in punishment for your sins God might justly leave you to make yourself as miserable as you have made yourself sinful?"

"Yes, sir," again stammered Harriet.

Having effectually, and to his satisfaction, fixed the child's attention on the morbid and over-sensitive workings of her own heart, the good and truly kind-hearted man dismissed her with a benediction. Shortly afterward Harriet wrote to her sister: "I don't know as

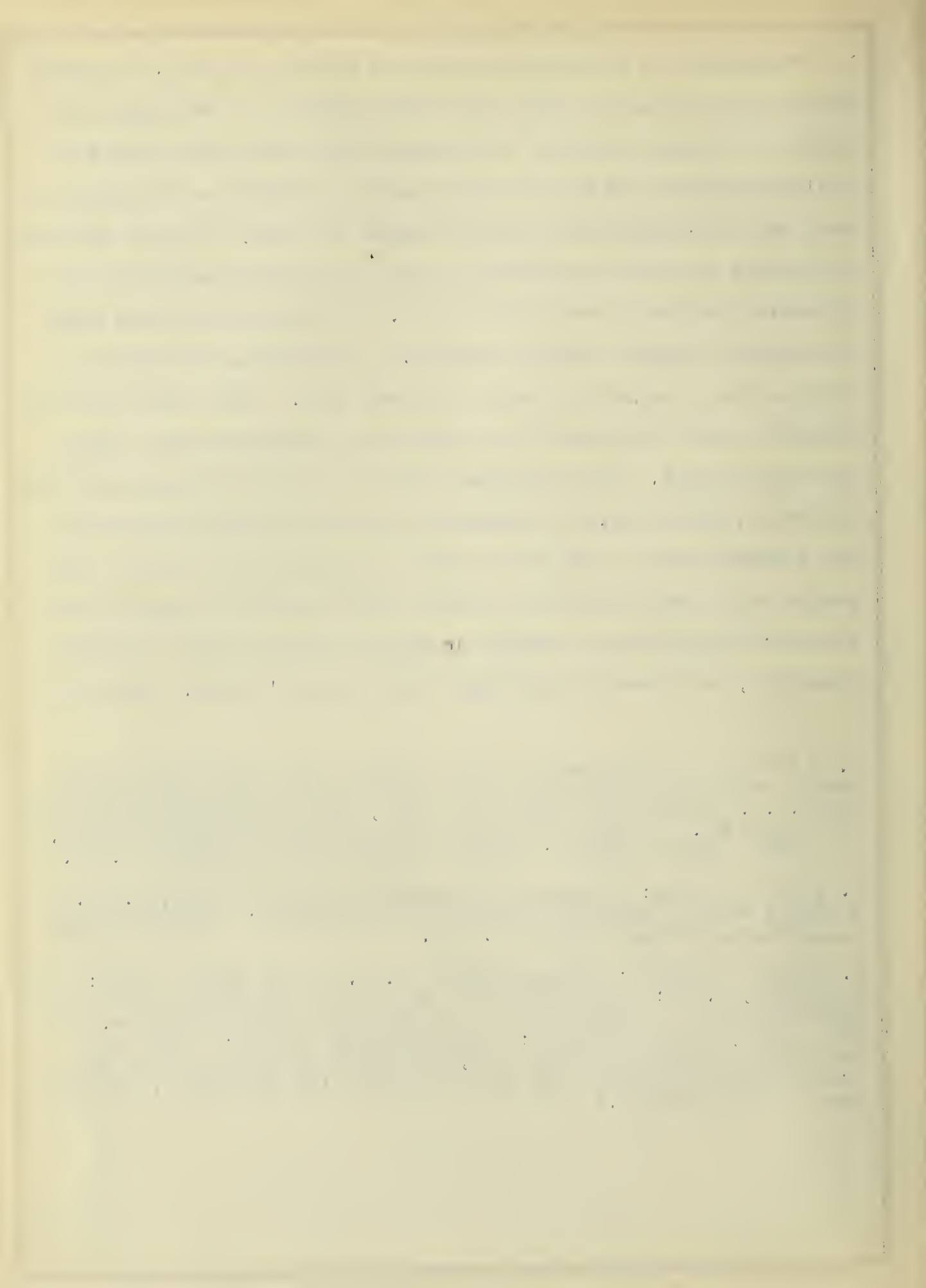


Puritanism on its practical side is known to us as (1) a system of austere control by priest and public opinion, a thorough-going system of village scrutiny¹ and inquiry into the moral conduct of one's neighbors; and (2) the practice of a troubled self-consciousness and self-examination, almost morbid at times, by which the Puritan tried to solve the problem of his own personal salvation, to determine whether he was of the elect.² Perhaps history has drawn the picture blacker than the reality. Puritanism, like all religions, was founded on a basis of human hope. The risks were enormously great for sinners; the reward was correspondingly great for the faithful. The clergyman might in his zeal exaggerate human depravity, might declare vehemently that only a one-tenth part of his townsmen were on the narrow path to escape hell-fire; but the people were always willing to accept their celestial chance in the lottery; each listener secretly included himself in the fortunate one-tenth, or privately discounted the minister's zeal. Every re-

I am fit for anything, and I have thought that I could wish to die young, and let the remembrance of me and my faults perish in the grave. . . . Sometimes I could not sleep, and have groaned and cried till midnight." Later she spoke of herself as "a wisp of nerve".
 --- Stowe, Charles Edward: Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, p. 36.

1. Tudor, William: Letters on the Eastern States (1821), p. 60.
 A highly amusing account is given by John Bernard: Retrospections of America 1797-1811 (1887), p. 333.

2. Wendell, Barrett: Cotton Mather, p. 6. Also James, Henry: Hawthorne, p. 83: "Introspection --- thanks to the want of other entertainment --- played almost the part of a social resource."
 Also Stowe, Harriet Beecher: Oldtown Folks, II, 54: "With many New England women at this period, particularly when life was so retired and so cut off from outward sources of excitement, thinking grew to be a disease."



ligion makes use of fear and hope. We need not stop to learn the exact proportion, but only to observe that on both the gloomy and the hopeful side introspection was the tool of Puritanism; on the gloomy side to secure "conviction of sin"; on the hopeful side to discover the "signs of grace", the reluctantly vouchsafed will of God.

Quakerism is in theory much less complex than Puritanism, the system being built around the one doctrine of the Inner Light -- the possibility of immediate inspiration, the existence in every man of some considerable measure of the Spirit of God.¹ "I was commissioned," said George Fox, who first formulated the Quaker beliefs in any coherent way, "to turn people to that Inward Light--- even that Divine Spirit which would lead men to all truth." And John Woolman, the inspired New Jersey tailor, uses the same language. "There is a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages has had different names; it is, however pure and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, when the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows they become brethren." "Our understandings are opened by the pure Light . . . through an inward approaching to God . . . In this State the Mind is tender, and inwardly watchful."² This Inner Light, the Quakers admit, existed before the church and scriptures. It is not

1. Whittier, John Greenleaf: Works, Vol. VII, p. 306. "The Society of Friends". "The one distinctive doctrine of Quakerism --- the Light within --- the immanence of the Divine Spirit in Christianity."

2. Journal, p. 173.

the natural light of reason, but a retirement into "the innermost regions of being", into "the seed", "the ground of the soul", "that which hath convinced you", the "hidden mystery", the "inward spiritual appearance of our Lord."¹

It is easily seen that both religions have a genius for introspection. The Puritan was introspective to discover some personal evidence why he should not be eternally damned; the Quaker was introspective to discover within himself the presence of God. But in the matter of organization and policy the two religions were different, so different that the Quakers were subjected to bloody persecution for twenty-one years, from 1656, when the first Quakers arrived in Boston, to 1677. The story is told at length in the histories;² the reason for the conflict can be stated in a few words. The Congregational system was dominated by priests, who asserted that the only revelation from God was the Bible, or if any additional revelation were accorded, it was possible only through men trained for the ministry; that the layman must be content with the "outward signs of grace": the sombre garb, sad countenance, Biblical speech, and austere life. The Quaker doctrine that the Deity communicated directly with men, and that these revelations were the highest rule of conduct, was intolerable, for it undermined the priesthood, and made the ecstasy of the inspired peasant greater than the logic of the uninspired sermon. Hence the established ministry made vituperative attacks. The Reverend John Wilson of Boston vowed that he would "carry fire in one hand and faggots in the other to burn all the

1. Richardson: The Quakers, Past and Present, p. 10.

2. Adams, Brooks: The Emancipation of Massachusetts, more especially p. 134. Compare Hawthorne's version in Twice-Told Tales, p. 85.

Quakers in the world"¹ and the Reverend John Higginson denounced the Inner Light as "a stinking vapor from hell."² Threats were followed by violence. More than a score³ of Quakers lost their lives by ingenious torture; but the Quaker principle triumphed in due time.

Possibly a shrewd prophetic sense warned the clergymen and sharpened their malignance. Possibly they recognized in the radical leveling doctrine of the Inner Light the tendency in which their own parishioners were drifting. For drift they did, partly because of the influence of Quaker teachings, and partly because a liberal movement within the Calvinistic Church itself had silently, imperceptibly been making progress since the founding of the New England colonies. The dogmatic insistence on the part of the clergy that faith is everything and works nothing, that the outward signs of grace were the mark of godliness, constantly increased that class of persons who were rigid in their observances merely as a means to further their worldly designs.⁴ Preparation was thus made for a gradual rebellion against spiritual despotism, and increased reliance on the intuitions of the individual member of the church. In 1636 a young enthusiast of English birth, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, was a member of John Cotton's church in Boston. She declared herself subject to divine illumination, inward signs of grace, and asserted that the

1. New England Judged, p. 124.

2. Truth and Innocency Defended, p. 80.

3. Adams, Brooks: The Emancipation of Massachusetts, p. 141.

4. Tudor, William: Letters on the Eastern States, p. 91.

clergy taught lifeless forms, instead of the animating faith of the New Testament. She was brought to trial before an ecclesiastical court, together with her pastor, who had a large measure of sympathy for her views. She was condemned to prison, and later banished.¹ The open rebellion of Anne Hutchinson was an early instance of a wide discontent which grew rapidly through the next two generations. There came a decline in Puritan strictness, and a "theological thaw" in Puritan doctrine. The continuous enfeeblement of the power of the preacher-ruler can be traced in the rule of three prominent champions of the old theocracy, Richard Mather (1596-1669), his son Increase Mather (1639-1723), and Increase's son Cotton Mather (1663-1728). Richard Mather ruled with an iron will, and helped to crush enthusiasts like Anne Hutchinson in his sacerdotal machinery. Increase Mather labored against enemies in his own church, lost his fight to keep Harvard College under orthodox control, and found himself a target for insult and slander. Cotton Mather lived to hear insolent attacks upon his person, and to have his activity in suppressing witchcraft denounced as a crime against humanity.

1. A few passages from the court records will make clear the importance of this cleavage in Calvinistic discipline. The priest-government inquires into the nature of the "revelations".

Mr. Nowell: How do you know that this was the Spirit?

Mrs. Hutchinson: How did Abraham know that it was God?

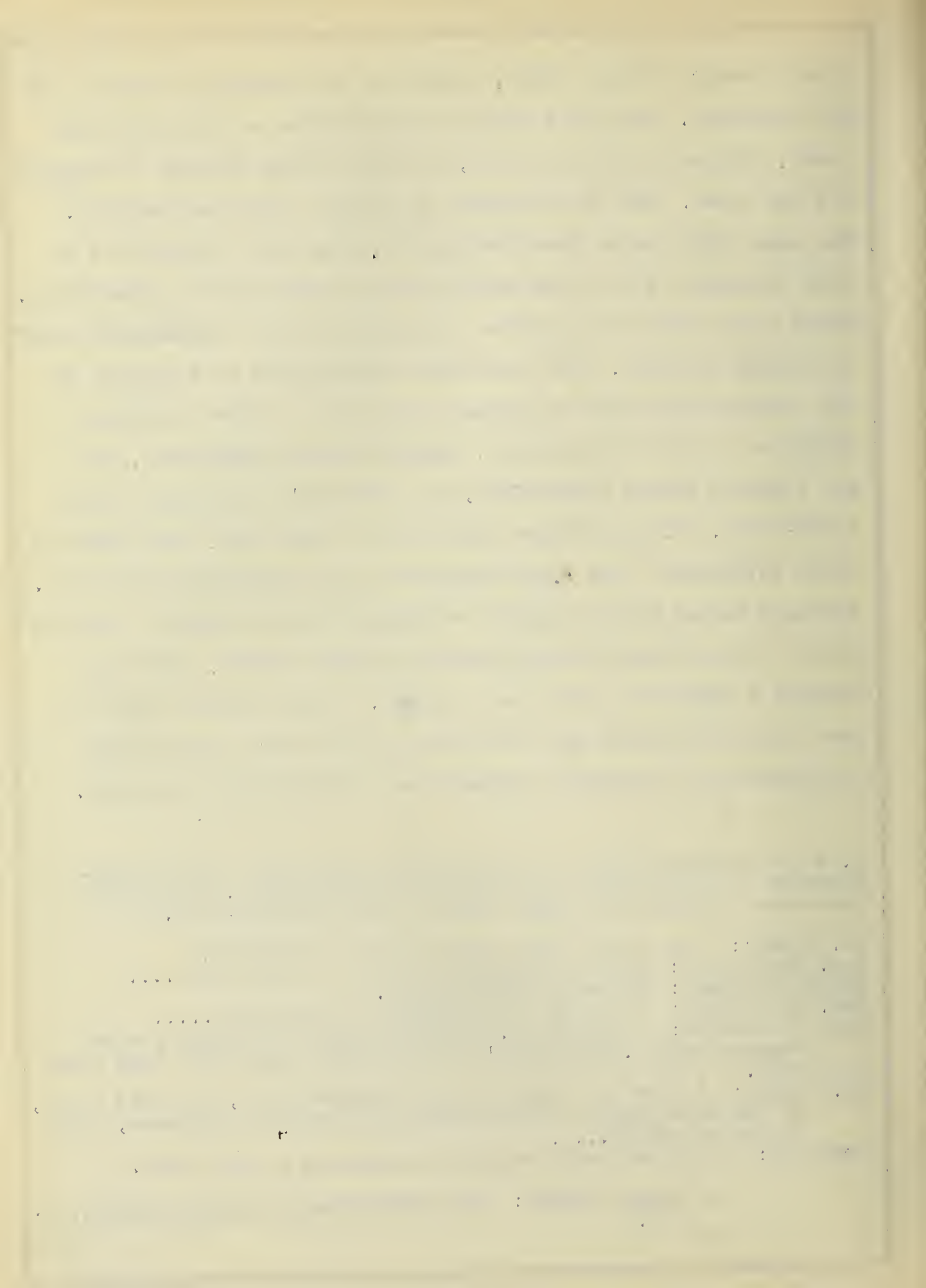
Deputy Governor: By an immediate voice.

Mrs. Hutchinson: So to me by an immediate revelation.....

Deputy Governor: I desire Mr. Cotton to tell us whether you do approve of Mrs. Hutchinson's revelations as she hath laid them down.

Mr. Cotton: I know not whether I do understand her, but this I say, if she doth expect a deliverance in a way of providence, then I cannot deny it.....

Governor: It is the most desperate enthusiasm in the world.



The decline in discipline was accompanied by increased confidence in spiritual revelation. Cotton Mather, whose predecessors had condemned the blasphemous revelations of Anne Hutchinson, and who hunted down witches without mercy, was himself a seer of visions. He writes in his diary for September 19, 1697: "The Spirit of the Lord came nigh unto mee; I was wondrously Irradiated. My Lord Jesus Christ shall yett be more known in the vast Regions of America; and by means of poor, vile, sinful mee he shall be so." Great Britain and France were to undergo a reformation under the same auspices. "Nor was this all, that was then told mee from Heaven; but I forbear the rest."

Cotton Mather cultivated in himself that which for the earlier generation had been anathema: direct revelation. Professor Barrett Wendell has studied the man's ecstatic visions, how "day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, he cast himself in the dust before the Lord; he strained his eyes for a fleeting glimpse of the robes and crow^N_As of God's angels, his ears for the faintest echo of their celestial music."¹ Mather wrote, in Christian Philosophy, of the permeating principle of deity in nature. "How charming the proportion and pulchritude of the leaves, the flowers, the fruits. How peculiar the care which the great God of nature has taken for the safety of the seed and fruit! When the vegetable race comes abroad, what strange methods of nature are there to guard them from inconveniences. How nice the provision of nature for their support in standing and growing, that they may keep

1. Wendell, Barrett: Cotton Mather, p. 304.

their heads above ground and minister to our intentions; some stand by their own strength, others are of an elastic nature, that they may dodge the violence of the winds: a visible argument that the plastic capacities of matter are governed by an all-wise infinite agent. Oh! the glorious goodness of our deity in all these things!" There is in this passage a note of poetic rapture, an esthetic appreciation of nature, and the first stirring of the breeze that was to dissolve the winter of Puritan discontent. This pantheistic note was never quite lost in the writings of the long line of clergymen from Mather to Emerson.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) is the greatest of the Puritan clergyman-philosophers, has become, in fact, a colossal figure in American religious history, because he combined in his compendious works and in his person the hardness, vigor and fatalism of the old religion with the mystical "new sense of things" which was to come. He seems to reach backward and forward a century. His Freedom of the Will (1754), a treatise which inexorably refutes what its title seems to promise, is rigorous and orthodox as the sermons of Richard Mather one hundred years before. His Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England (1740) is mystical, hopeful, prophetic as the voices of the transcendentalists which were to be heard a hundred years later. From boyhood, Edwards loved seclusion in the hills or along the banks of streams, where in passive contemplation he could read in nature a direct communication from God, could "behold His awful majesty: in the sun in his strength, in comets, in thunder, with the lowering thunder-clouds, in ragged rocks and the brows of mountains."¹

1. Edwards, Jonathan: Excellency of Christ.

These accounts follow the best tradition of Quaker and Puritan mystical experience. That is to say, both Quaker and Puritan had always a stoical feeling that no religious gain came save after long sacrifice and preparation: sooner they scorned it; they must have suffering, expiation, a protracted season of making ready. Similarly, Edwards' mystical experience arises by slow degrees: a struggle to cast forth transient worldly ideas, withdrawal to a solitude and fixation upon a few natural peaceful images, and finally, a feeling of being wrapt up or united to God in unconscious union. In a passage much quoted as a "classic of the inner life" the different stages of withdrawalment and passive exaltation are recorded by Edwards at length. "After this my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more and more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of everything was altered; there seemed to be, as it were, a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in every thing; in the sun, moon, and stars, in the clouds, and the blue sky; in the grass, flowers, trees; in the water, and all nature which used greatly to fix my mind. I often used to sit and view the moon for continuance; and in the day, spent much time viewing the clouds and sky, to behold the sweet glory of God in these things in the mean time, singing forth, with a low voice, my contemplations of the Creator and Redeemer . . . Holiness, as I then wrote down some of my contemplations on it, appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene calm nature; which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness, and ravishment to the soul . . . There was no part of creature-holiness, that I had so great

a sense of its loveliness as humility, brokenness of heart, and poverty of spirit; and there was nothing that I so earnestly longed for. My heart panted after this, -- to lie low before God, as in the dust; that I might be nothing, and that God might be ALL."¹

In Edwards' writings scholars profess to find the germs of Unitarianism and Universalism; and at the very least we must admit there are seminal principles for new religious growth, an expectant, enlarging, internal restlessness, as if in him the transcendental ideas were already beginning to simmer. A few years before his death, Arminianism and other forms of anti-Trinitarian doctrine had made headway. Charles Chauncey (1592-1672), Johnathan Mayhew (1720-1766), and their followers, who had been mildly affected by English deism, began to assert that conversion was not an arbitrary election on the part of a remote God, but that the sinner, by diligently cultivating the means of grace, might coöperate in his own regeneration. This privilege, as we have before observed, had been granted in some degree to the clergy, and withheld from the laymen. This latent doctrine which would permit any revelation was a small fissure in the Calvinistic stone wall, and, under the influence of Quaker teachings and a libertarian spirit everywhere, the breach widened more and more. Man's right to play an active role in his own regeneration was openly announced. The doctrine of the Trinity was beginning to be publicly attacked, when the Revolutionary War intervened, and drew the attention of the country from the religious ferment to the political and economic crisis.

1. Edwards, Jonathan: Works, Vol. I, p. 35.

When fifty-six leading Americans signed their names to a declaration of political independence, they were unconsciously doing a liberating service for the New England priest-government. John Adams (1735-1826), one of the most conservative of the revolution-¹ists, had already written in his diary an indictment of the Congregational system. "The following questions may be answered some time or other, namely,— Where do we find a precept in the Gospels requiring Ecclesiastical Synods? Convocations? Councils? Decrees? Creeds? Confessions? Oaths? Subscriptions? and whole cart-loads of other trumpery that we find religion encumbered with in these days?" This monumental procession of question marks began to find its answer at the time of the Revolution.

The war brought into New England not only political liberals; it brought from the south the new philosophy of deism. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, with their insistence on Reason and the Rights of Man, are remote from the spirit of Calvinism. They conceived a benevolent God who "wound up the vast machine of the universe and let it run by itself, instead of interfering, as the God of Cotton Mather did, with special providences, mercies, and judgments, in behalf of an elect few persons. In short, the deistic theology championed the natural rights of man, against the Congregational theology of class favoritism. And with this we may dismiss deism, since it had naught to do with introspection, and was at all times foreign to the spirit of New England; our point being merely to note its influence in the abatement of the rigid Puritan theocracy.

1. Adams, John: Works, Vol. 2, p. 5.

By the end of the century there was hardly a Trinitarian clergyman in Boston, the liberal movement going forward beneath the surface, and ministers simply avoiding subjects on which their views were not in accord with tradition. The open break came in 1815, when the liberal element adopted the name "Unitarian", and won the control of Harvard College. A few years later, under the leadership of Channing, the Unitarian church entered upon a period of aggressive controversy and expansion.

The qualities which distinguish early Unitarianism from Calvinism are (1) the insistence upon the goodness of human nature (instead of the Calvinistic doctrine of innate depravity), (2) the hope for progress and spiritual development, (3) the belief in one Deity (instead of a Trinity), and (4) the most intense emphasis upon freedom in every form: freedom of the will, freedom of conscience, and absolute freedom for the inquiry into and interpretation of scriptures. Of these four principles, the last— although it did not happen to be the one to give its name to the movement— was the most powerful and essential.

An examination of these four points of Unitarian doctrine will reveal how close they are to the spirit of transcendentalism. A long list of quotations from Emerson, Alcott, and the rest, might be arrayed to support each of the four contentions. The goodness of human nature found no dissenting voice in the transcendental chorus. As for progress, they found language inadequate to express their tip-toe expectation of the dawn of a new era. The unity of the world in God was asserted by many of their number, although in their case the monistic belief showed a far stronger leaning toward pantheism than the Unitarians would tolerate. And finally, if there was one principle the transcendentalists never wearied of repeating,

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it was individualism, freedom, and particularly, spiritual freedom.

The kinship between the two movements may be illustrated by two quotations from Channing. In a sermon written in 1828, Likeness to God, he affirms his faith. "Christianity, with one voice, calls me to turn my regards and care to the spirit within me, as of more worth than the whole outward world." And in his memoirs¹ he describes the transcendentalist as one who "believed in perpetual inspiration . . . He sought to hold communion face to face with the unnameable Spirit of his spirit." From this it appears that Channing thought the vital principle of Unitarianism and transcendentalism to be the same.

A longer quotation from the same author is in the very tone of Emerson's Essays. "We must start in religion from our own souls. In these is the fountain of all divine truth. An outward revelation is only possible and intelligible, on the ground of conceptions and principles, previously furnished by the soul. Here is our primitive teacher and light. Let us not disparage it. There are, indeed, philosophical schools of the present day, who tell us that we are to start in all our speculations from the Absolute, the Infinite. But we rise to these conceptions from the contemplation of our own nature. . . The only God, whom our thoughts can rest on, and our hearts cling to, and our conscience can recognize, is the God whose image dwells in our own souls. The grand ideas of Power, Reason, Wisdom, Love, Rectitude, Holiness, Blessedness, that is, all of God's attributes, come from within, from the action of our own

1. Vol. 2, p. 13.

spiritual nature. Many indeed think that they learn God from marks of design and skill in the outward world; but our ideas of design and skill, of a determining cause, of an end or purpose, are derived from consciousness, from our own souls. Thus the soul is the spring of our knowledge of God." To show how close these lines are to the spirit of transcendentalism, one has only to place beside them the words which Emerson was always repeating: Look within; within in the fountain of all good.¹

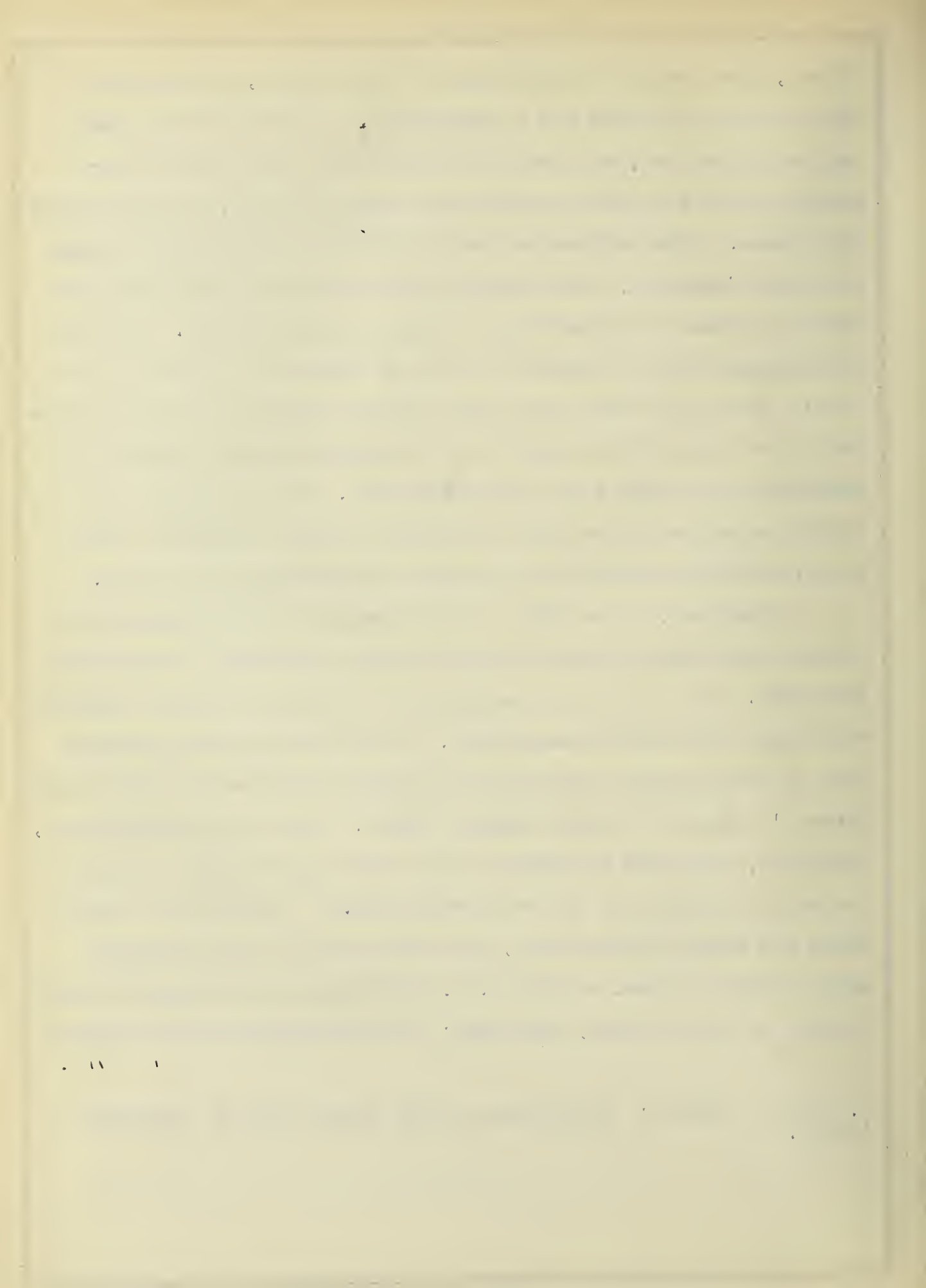
But I must hasten to add that the Unitarianism which furnished such stimulus to the transcendentalists was that of the earliest period; and that by the time Emerson's Essays were printed, Unitarianism had taken a new turn that was more repugnant to the transcendentalists than the Calvinism it had superseded. The palmy days of Unitarianism were from 1820 to 1840, and somewhere between those dates the tendency of the movement changed. We may call the first stage the Reforming Period, and the second stage the Conservative Period. The Reforming Period was marked by a brilliant attack upon the reigning Calvinistic church; its watchword was liberty, and many brave spirits enlisted under its banner without knowing exactly what theological doctrines they would later be called upon to support. As soon as the Unitarians established themselves, and won their battle for religious freedom, they began to shift their attention to reform and progress. And to gain a rational basis for reform and at the same time to make religion clear and simple, they adopted the empirical philosophy of Locke. That is

1. Self-Reliance, p. 34. "We denote this primary wisdom as Intuition . . . Here is the fountain of action and of thought."

to say, they denied the existence of innate ideas, and affirmed that at birth the mind was a tabula rasa, a sheet of white paper void of characters, and that all ideas which could make any impression upon this clear surface came from the outside world through the senses. This affirmation got rid of the old Calvinistic dogma of innate depravity, and hence got rid also of the need for an elaborate process of regeneration through a divine Savior. And the encouragement that it seemed to give to reform and progress lay in this: that if the soul grew only from the influence of the environment, the souls of men might be in the highest degree improved by surrounding men with the right environment. Hence the Unitarian church redoubled its activity in behalf of public education, civic works, and the betterment of the material conditions of living.

There was, it is true, a considerable body of supporters of the new faith who continued to hold to the intuitional or spiritual principle. But we are here speaking of a tendency, and the tendency was toward conservative empiricism. This tendency may be clearly seen in the language with which the Reverend Andrews Norton denounced Emerson's Divinity College Address (1838). "There is no instinctive, intuitive, or direct knowledge of the truths of religion, either of the being of God or of our own immortality."¹ Distrust of innate ideas and popular enthusiasms, soon came to be a distinguishing mark of Unitarianism, so that O. B. Frothingham, recounting the later history of the movement, could say: "The Unitarians of New England

1. Norton, Andrews: A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity (1839).



belonged . . . to the class which looked without for knowledge, rather than within for inspiration. . . The Unitarian was disquieted by mysticism, enthusiasm, and rapture."¹ Obviously, this denial of innate ideas, mysticism, enthusiasm, and rapture, was at the opposite pole from transcendentalism. It was possibly the fundamental drift toward empiricism, in addition to his dislike for ritual, that made the Unitarian church distasteful to Emerson, so that he withdrew from it in 1832.² That the hard side of Unitarianism made itself unpleasant to other transcendentalists is evident from articles in the Dial, notably the excellent account in the first volume, on the Unitarian Movement in New England.³ We are therefore left to conclude that transcendentalism is indebted to the earlier, but not to the later Unitarianism.

Just what transcendentalism was has never been satisfactorily explained, whether it was a collection of private enthusiasms, or a spiritual and religious awakening, or a philosophy, a movement of ideas, or all these things together. We can include all the different aspects of the movement by saying that transcendentalism was a great hope for some unknown good to be discovered through introspection. Emerson inspired the best young men of Harvard with his address on The American Scholar (1837). "Perhaps the time is al-

1. O. B. Frothingham: Transcendentalism in New England, p. 109-110. Also Boston Unitarianism, p. 48, 250.

2. Emerson's objections to the formal side of Unitarianism may be found in Miscellanies, p. 20.

3. Dial, I, 409.

ready come . . . when the sluggard intellect of this continent will . . . fulfil the postponed expectation of the world." Alcott gave expression to his Utopian dreams in the *Dial*.¹ "The trump of reform is sounding throughout the world for a revolution of all human affairs. . . . The pentecost of the soul draws near. Inspiration, silent long, is unsealing the lips of prophets and bards." Thoreau lived "in infinite expectation of the dawn".² What this great unknown good was, whether spiritual or universal truth, or the means for individual development, or social progress, we shall postpone saying. For our present purpose it is sufficient to assert that the central feature of transcendentalism was introspection, and that its obvious outward attitude was that of men who expect the immediate fulfillment of some great hope.

What I have sought to do in the last twenty pages is to show a continuity for the introspective tradition through two centuries, from its origin in early religion to its culmination in transcendentalism. A critic interested in the formal or social side of this development would find it easy to offer objections. "What" we may represent him as saying, "can you find common to Puritanism, Quakerism, Unitarianism, and transcendentalism? Since each was a revulsion from the other, they show the greatest difference in theory and temper. One is trinitarian in its theology, another is unitarian, another is pantheistic. One held that human nature is corrupt; another that it is essentially noble and godlike. One showed its dis-

1. *Dial*: Vol. I, p. 351, Jan. 1841.

2. *Walden*, Chap. 2.

trust in revelation; another asserted that divine revelation is continuous. One upheld strict determinism; another championed the freedom of the will. One built up an elaborate system of priest-government; another declared unlimited powers to be the possession of the individual man. How can you trace any consistent development through such a complex maze?" To this I answer that it is only on its outward or social aspect that these movements are complex or contradictory. Historians, in dealing with the period, lay hold upon obvious facts: dates, statistics, creeds, church organization, what happened when a number of people met together, the social influences. But introspection is primarily non-social; it is an individual and private fact, and as such does not lend itself to the usual method of the historians. When one follows the inner movement, the entire development of introspection is simple and natural, in spite of the fact that the Puritans were a gloomy people and the transcendentalists were poetic enthusiasts. We must refer again to our formula, and make the development simple by saying that the two centuries of New England religious thought was a drama of human hope.

The only essential difference between the four systems we have enumerated was, that the hope of the Puritans and Quakers was a deferred or conditioned hope, whereas the hope of the Unitarians and the transcendentalists was an immediate hope. The Puritans exhibited a bearing of strictness and gloom at the same time that strong religious fires burned brightly within. They came to America for a double hope: the hope to win a home in a New Land, and the hope to attain spiritual salvation. But both these hopes were remote, and both were conditioned. The soil and the savages had to be

conquered; the soul had to be chastened and subdued. Years of persecution, and an iron theology, had worn this feeling into the Puritan soul: that the hope was great, but far off.¹ Endurance and fortitude were their virtues; they held dear no religious gain save that which came after prolonged struggle with the ancient principle of Evil. The Quakers, the other persecuted sect, gave much the same reaction. They held that a man might talk with God. But the hope was far, and conditioned. They must put on the robe of sorrow, and bear long years of silent suffering.² The Quakers sought persecution, and would have it, cost what it might. "We must be willing to tarry the Lord's time in the wilderness," they said, "if we would enter the Promised Land."³ The Quaker teachings were, as we have said, brighter and more hopeful than those of Calvinism; but both were rigorous and hard as the rock-bound New England hills. This is why we may say that both religions were founded on a deferred hope. Both promised a man the supreme felicity of being with God, and both conditioned the hope upon lifelong introspection, and the endless labor of working off the penalty put upon Adam at the beginning of the world.

1. Cooke, G.W.: Unitarianism in America, p. 17. "The Puritans throughout the seventeenth century in New England were trying at one and the same time to use reason and yet cling to authority, to accept the Protestant ideal and yet to employ the Catholic methods in state and church. In being Protestants, they were committed to the central motive of individualism; but they never consistently turned away from that conception of the church which is autocratic and authoritative."

2. Richardson: The Quakers, Past and Present, p. 10. "The Quakers . . . did not escape the absolute dualism of the thought of their day. They believed man to be shut up in sin, altogether evil, and they declared at the same time that there is in every man that which will, if he yields to its guidance, lift him above sin, is able to make him here and now free and sinless. The essential irreconcilability of the two positions did not appear to have troubled them."

3. Dial: Vol. II, p. 383.

But the hope of the transcendentalists was an immediate hope. Evil they had translated into an abstraction, and exorcised away. The nature of man was noble, fountains of inspiration were flowing from the air, and nature was an emanation from deity. Reform was to sweep the world. Each man was to be a god, and find within himself all the vital forces of the universe. The long postponement was to have an end. So that the process of religious thought which we have examined at some length can now be expressed in a sentence: it was a search for some great unknown good to be attained by introspection, and what was at first a deferred hope came, through various stimulating and liberating elements, to be at last an immediate hope.

A change in the outward features of New England life was simultaneous. The seventeenth century was a period of laborious war against danger and privation, against a stony soil and a hostile climate. If men spoke of the western frontier, it was as a place of fear and hardship. But in the early nineteenth century the land had been subdued, and manufactures added. Boston was a center of wealth, and began to send its capital forth to build railroads and new industries. The younger generation felt the hopeful influence of the frontier. Ardent, ambitious sons of the humblest parentage might win fame and wealth within a short span of years. If every other enterprise failed, there was always the prospect of winning a fortune in the unknown West. Baron de Tocqueville, writing in 1832 of American life, notes the subconscious influence of the frontier. "The American people views its own march across these wilds, --- drying swamps, turning the course of rivers, peopling solitudes, and subduing nature. This magnificent image of themselves

does not meet the gaze of the Americans at intervals only; it may be said to haunt every one of them in his least as well as in his most important actions, and to be always flitting before his mind."¹ Even Emerson, who never attached undue weight to the influence of externals, spoke of "the admirable stars of possibility, and the yet untouched continent of hope glittering with all its mountains in the vast West." "I praise with wonder," he said, "this great reality, which seems to drown all things in the deluge of its light. What man seeing this, can lose it from his thoughts, or entertain a meaner subject?"²

Thus there is some kind of relation between the inner and outer prospects in the Puritan and the transcendental periods. The Puritan's hope of finding God was frightfully conditioned, just at the time when his ability to win a home in the New World was frightfully in doubt. The transcendentalist's hope for divine revelation was immediate and ecstatic, just at the time of prosperity and unlimited expansion. The two hopes, inner and outer, reacted upon each other in many curious ways. Joseph Smith, the saint of the Mormon church who had the gift of spiritual vision, was a New England enthusiast who had gone to live in Palmira, New York. He had immediate revelations in which he heard the voice of God; but the voice quite wisely told him to seek the Promised Land in the real West, in Missouri, afterward in Illinois, and finally in Utah. Horace Greeley,

1. Tocqueville, Alexis de: Democracy in America; Vol. II, p. 90.

2. Emerson: The Method of Nature (1841), last page.

associated in the Brook Farm enterprise, had great hope for the inner perfectibility of man, and a still greater hope in outward active enterprise, the expanding fortunes of the new frontier. He put a religious fervor into his practical counsel, "Go west, young man."

Transcendentalism was allied with a larger expansive movement, not only in commerce and empire-building, but in politics, in social reform, in literature and general culture, in religion, and in philosophy. It will be profitable to indicate what this larger movement was, before we attempt to explain the inner meaning, the heart of the thing as it expressed itself in transcendentalism.

The New England Renaissance

The period centering about 1840 has been called the American Renaissance. It was, like the awakening in Italy five centuries earlier, a rebirth of enthusiasm, and the assertion of the sufficiency of the individual man. As was the case in the Italian Renaissance, a part of the awakening influence came from outside and from the past; and a much larger part was the discovery and development of native resources of thought and feeling. I have already pointed out how westward expansion quickened the New England mind. The period of a quarter-century following the close of the second war with England in 1815 has been called by historians "the era of good feeling". Peace, prosperity, rapid growth in population, and rapid territorial expansion aroused sanguine expectations. The railroad was multiplying wealth. The Erie Canal, opened in 1825, ran through primitive

forest and valley where land could be had for the taking. The Ohio River flowed through a thinly-peopled wilderness. Cincinnati had only a few thousand inhabitants; Chicago was only a fort. The stimulus that the exploration of this empire gave to American minds is reflected in such books as Paulding's Westward Ho! (1832), Cooper's "The Pioneers (1823), and Irving's Tour on the Prairies (1835).¹ It was an age of expanding boundaries, and the national consciousness expanded with them.

In the political arena, too, individualism had become aggressive, not to say rampant. The victory over England in 1815 gave Americans an exalted idea of their national power; the Monroe Doctrine exhibited further the cockiness of American independence; and finally, in 1829, Andrew Jackson, the backwoodsman, idol of popular sentiment, was borne into presidential office, and gave his name to the democratic age. In the Jacksonian era there seemed to be no limit to political fortune. An artisan or small merchant might tomorrow become mayor of New York, or a defender of public liberties in Congress. Conservative traditions were discarded, and the capacities of the private citizen were extolled. Unions began to be organized for the protection of the working men. In 1833 twenty-two labor unions participated in a parade in New York City. The party in power, over a considerable number of years, was the Democratic. Naturally the influence of this party was least in New England, always the stronghold of conservatism; but even there its influence was great; it carried even Boston with its plausible insistence that one man was as good as another, and prepared the way

1. See also Timothy Flint's Recollections (1826) and Geography and History of the Mississippi Valley (1827).

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for the writing of Emerson's Essays.

On its more intellectual side, the renaissance expressed itself in reform, in culture, in religion, and in the transcendental philosophy, the last being in many ways the heart and center of the movement. One has the choice of beginning with this center, and describing the influences radiating outward toward the periphery, or beginning with the circumference and ending with the difficult philosophical problem. This latter method is the one we shall adopt, proceeding from the outward and easily grasped phenomena inward toward the difficult and intangible matter of transcendentalism.

First to strike the attention of the amused observer, and make him aware of the violent internal energies of the renaissance, were the sporadic peripheral reforms, quarrels, fads and idiosyncrasies of individuals or small groups. Lowell itemizes in lively fashion, in the opening page of his essay on Thoreau, the numerous gospels brought forth by "every possible form of intellectual and physical dyspepsia." Emerson enumerates, in New England Reformers (1844), the popular projects for the salvation of the world. One enthusiast would have all men go to farming, another would forbid merchandising, another would abolish the use of money, and live on the revenues of the spirit. Animal magnetism, mesmerism, and phrenology roused the wonder of country bumpkins and speculators. Homoeopathy, hydropathy, neurology, the Thompsonian cure, the Graham system, vegetarianism, these and kindred practices flourished and provoked ridicule and discussion. One sect made bran the chief article of diet; another used naught but unleaved bread, tolerating no fermentation save that in their own minds. Some denounced the use of all animal substance --- flesh, fish, butter, cheese, eggs, and milk--- as a pollution tending to corrupt the body, and through

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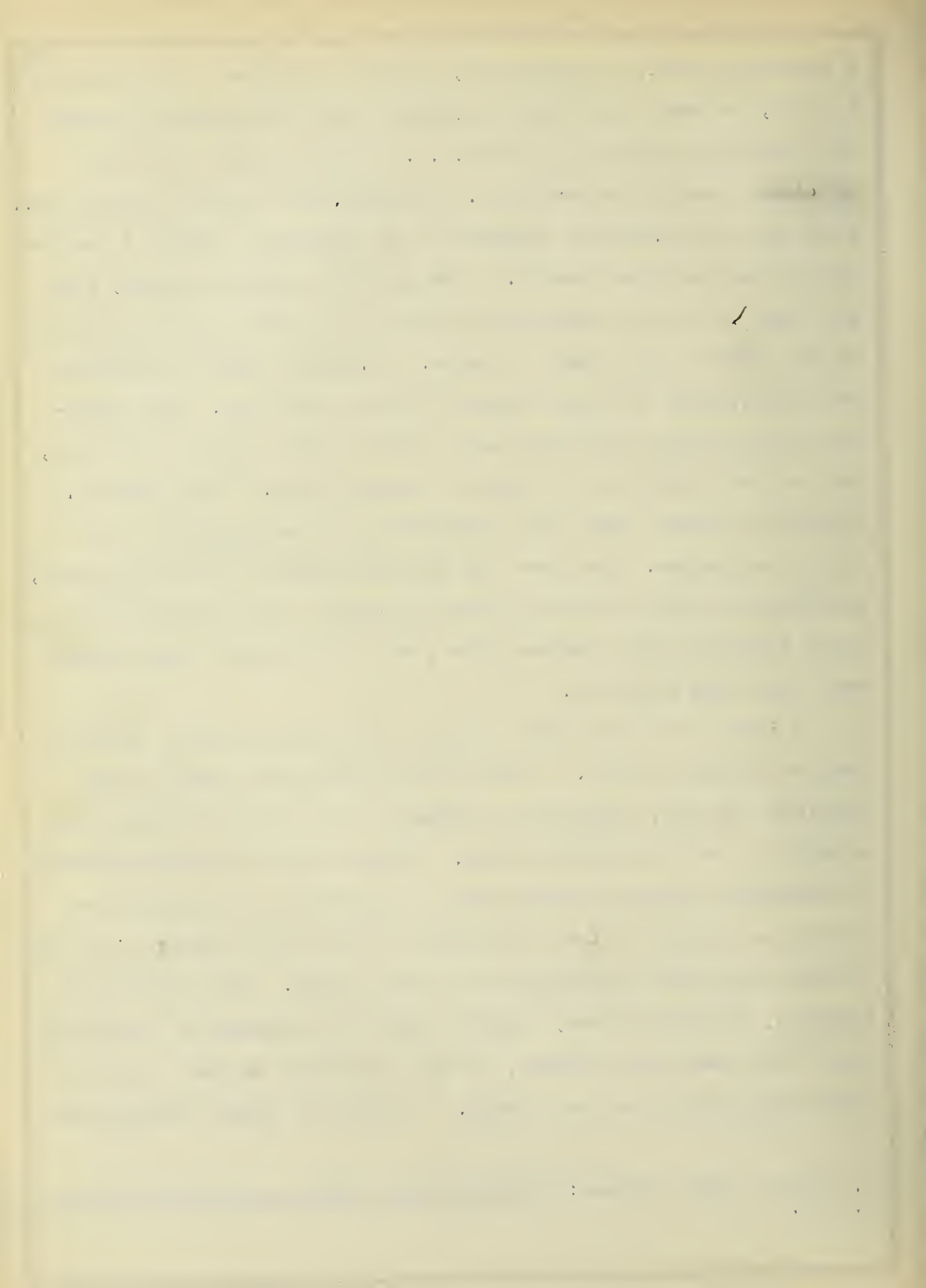
that the soul. Others made a distinction between vegetables which aspired or grew into the air, as wheat, apples, corn, and the base products which grew downwards into the earth, as potatoes, beets, radishes. Tea, coffee, molasses, rice, were proscribed as decadent foreign luxuries. Some depreciated the use of manure to fertilize land, as being a base way of corrupting and forcing Nature. Others befriended suffering animals, and even forebore to kill moths, cabbage-worms, and mosquitoes. One group would by law replace all buttons by hooks and eyes; another would discard clothes and go in the innocent simplicity of Eden. Some exalted simplicity of speech and even swearing as the spontaneous expression of the natural man; some attacked the institution of marriage as the great source of evil; others would abolish the Sabbath for the purpose of making every day a Sabbath. Speculation in railways, lands, and "wildcat" banks formed a monument to human credulity. There were patent medicines, Morrison's pills, elixirs, panaceas, remedial essences which were to sweep away the accumulated ills of mankind. There were freakish inventions destined to work a revolution in industry. There were Utopian legislative programs which were to bring back the golden age.

This activity often took the form of conventions and congresses; temperance societies, non-resistance societies, socialistic, or Sunday School, or Bible conventions, congresses to protect against clerical tyranny or laxity, congresses to improve poor houses, prisons, asylums, or to reform the public schools. Lyceum and lecture courses prospered even when the subjects were occult and weighty: "Philosophy of Soul" on Wednesday, "Philosophy of Swedenborg" on Friday. When James Freeman Clarke, who had for some years filled

a Unitarian pulpit in Louisville, Kentucky, returned to New England in 1840, he found conditions so unusual that he was moved to write the following letter to his wife. . . "I find social life in a precious state of fermentation. New ideas are flying, high and low. Every man, as Mr. Emerson remarked to me yesterday, carries a revolution in his waistcoat pocket. The prevailing idea, however, just now seems to be of a community in which all persons are to live after the fashion of the Rapps or Owens. Mr. Ripley appears fermenting and effervescing to a high degree with the new ideas. The remarkable thing is that everybody has a distinct idea, plan, or project, and no two persons can be found to agree in any."¹ The good Mr. Clarke was correct about the impossibility of correlating these bright enthusiasms. They were the foam and froth of the renaissance, providing no secure basis for generalization, but indicating, by their contortion and violence, the power of the inner forces which sent them whirling forth.

Some of the more sober reforms lived long and left on history an abundant record. Abolition of slavery was urged in the eighteen thirties, moderately by Channing and the Unitarians, vigorously by the transcendentalists. Humanitarian sympathy performed a needed and permanent service when it undertook to establish institutions for the infirm, the blind, the sick, the insane, and when it encouraged civic improvement and civic pride. The socialistic projects, like Brook Farm, largely failed; but instead of inquiring into their practical workings, it will be better to state the principles upon which they were based. A wave of social sympathy was

1. Clarke, James Freeman: Autobiography, Diary, and Correspondence, p. 133.



passing over Europe, and the American reforms were based largely upon the social teaching of three foreigners, Owen, St. Simon, and Fourier. Owen's doctrine was simple: Place human beings in good surroundings, and they will be industrious and virtuous. St. Simon held that the highest good was attained by securing opportunity for each man to do what he could do best. Fourier proposed to amend the condition of men by substituting harmonious for hostile industry. Attempts to put these principles into practice failed, but there was a reasonableness about the schemes that did not die.

We draw nearer the center of the renaissance when we speak of its culture. In literature, it expressed itself sometimes in works of pure imagination, like Hawthorne's novels, and oftener in books of weighty purpose, like Emerson's essays, or Whittier's poems. It produced, within a short period of years, the works of at least four famous historians: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Parkman. In formal oratory and political writings the new spirit was especially active, so that Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, and Edward Everett were known as men of letters as well as political leaders. The oratory of men of lesser note often ran into rhapsody and spread-eagle patriotism, but it was none the less representative of the democratic enthusiasm and literary fervor of the times. Foreign literature was read and utilized as never before; of numerous collections and translations it will suffice to mention Ripley's Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature, and Longfellow's English version of Dante's Divine Comedy. The three foreign influences of greatest weight were the English romantic poets, particularly Wordsworth and Coleridge; the German romanticists, introduced by De Stael, Schlegel, Carlyle, and others, and the classical writers of mystical vein, Plato and Plotinus. The influence of the German idealistic philosophy was

also profound; but of it I shall have more to say. I shall not here develop the literary aspect of the renaissance at a length proportionate to its importance, but shall be content with saying that the literature of the time expressed a buoyant idealism and a new joy in life that were partly the result of foreign influence, and that at the same time by introspection and earnestness it remained true to its Puritan inheritance.

When we speak of the Italian Renaissance, we usually refer to intellectual awakening, the pursuit of culture; and for the corresponding movement in religion which reached its full development in another time and country, we use a second term, the Reformation. But when we speak of the New England Renaissance, we include, if indeed we do not primarily mean, the religious and spiritual change. New England life and manners had been bound so long and closely to religion, that it was inevitable that its renaissance and reformation should occur together. Religious activities are close to the center of the New England movement, and for our study of introspection they are of the deepest importance.

Of the schism in the ruling Congregational church, leading to Unitarianism and later to transcendentalism, we have already given a sketch. Similar divisions occurred in all the Protestant churches. The Quakers suffered internal dissensions, and the Methodists survived four schisms one after the other.¹ The old arguments for the established order of things had lost their force, and the general ten-

1. The "Reformed Methodists" started in 1814; the "Methodist Society" in 1820, the "True Wesleyan Methodist Church" in 1828, and the "Methodist Protestants" in 1830. See I. D. Rupp: He Pasa Ekklesia, or Religious Democracy in the United States (1849).

dency was away from fixed standards and authority, and in the direction of optimism, emotional enthusiasm, dependence upon the individual intuitions.

This was the time also, the period between 1820 and 1840, of the rise of the Sunday Schools and missionary endeavor, of Bible societies, revival meetings, eager interest in the evangelization of the West, and the founding of sectarian colleges. Many persons abandoned the older churches for the rapidly-growing sects, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, which placed more emphasis on emotional religion. The increased popular appeal of the Universalist church indicates the direction of the religious current. Universalism is the belief that what ought to be will be. In place of the Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity, this optimistic faith approaches the other extreme, and holds the gospel of universal salvation, the final harmony of all souls with God.

New sects, creeds, and "isms" arose in New England like swarming bees, spread through the backwoods districts to New York and Ohio, where the migrating Yankee had already prepared the way, and passed on to be dissipated and lost in the far West. There were philosophico-religious sects like Swedenborgianism, politico-religious sects like Antimasonry, and pseudo-scientifico-religious sects like spiritualism. There were sects which acclaimed the millennium, and the immediate presence of God and his saints upon the earth.

Most interesting for our purpose were the numerous bodies which lived upon direct revelation, and the most notorious of these was the Mormon Church, or the Church of Latter Day Saints, founded by a migratory New England family in New York. Joseph Smith had his first religious experience in 1820. In 1827 he "dug up" the

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Golden Tablets on which were inscribed the Book of Mormon. During the years 1830 to 1840 Smith continuously received direct messages from God, and at last, after much ambiguity and indecision, the Voice led his saints through the western wilderness to the Promised Land on the shores of the Great Salt Lake. A similar band was the "Pilgrims", a vagabond swarm from the south of Vermont. Sickness had made the founder visionary; he asserted that he was a prophet and had inspiration from heaven. This band, in its search for the "Promised Land", passed through central New York, and disappeared in the West. The "Shakers", or more officially, "The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing", were a more numerous sect, and had "spiritual gifts of revelation". The period of spiritual manifestations among the Believers lasted from 1837 to 1847. The Moravians and Campbellites preached the second coming of Christ. The Adventists (also called Millenarians or Millerites) were most forehanded of all. About 1833 a Massachusetts farmer who had emigrated to New York began to teach that the "Second Advent" of the Lord would occur in 1843. His disciples circulated various newspapers, and secured a multitude of followers. At the time appointed, thousands were out all night, waiting for the Lord to come to destroy the wicked, and bodily rule his faithful children on the earth.¹ To complete this catalog of freakish belief and human credulity, it only required that certain inspired persons should actually represent themselves to be God. These duly appeared, reign-

1. The most interesting account is perhaps that given by Whittier: Works, Vol. IV, p. 419, "The World's End".

ed a few troubled days in some backwoods kingdom, and then yielded to make way for some new prophet of a brighter millenium.¹

Transcendentalism

We now approach the problem we have left to the last, the movement which is the center of interest in the renaissance. Transcendentalism is one of the most intricate phenomena in American history, and before we rashly attempt an analysis, we must pause a moment and get a sense of the danger. The variety and contradictoriness of the explanations we possess are to the desultory reader amusing, and to the student of history distressing. Those within the movement never agreed or attempted to agree upon any platform; they saw clearly enough that with their insistence upon individualism they could never hope to agree. Those outside the movement failed to describe it either because they lacked sympathy, or because they over-simplified it in an attempt to arrive at clarity. The initiated were too close to the movement, and suffered an emotional confusion; the uninitiated were too remote, and reduced its bright enthusiasms to a handful of cold platitudes. This is the first difficulty.

In the next place, transcendentalism involved both mental and spiritual issues. It was a philosophy and a religion and a great hope at the same time. Any attempt to treat it as one or the other must overlook a certain vitality which was a result of the

1. William Dean Howells, in The Leatherwood God, has made a study of this eccentric religious phenomenon.

mingling. This is a second and greater difficulty. As a further complication, it had a core of ideas and beliefs, and from this its influence radiated through reforms, books, institutions, and connected itself to all the activities of the renaissance. Some critics use the term transcendentalism to denote only the core of ideas and beliefs. Other critics include under the term transcendentalism a great number of the activities of the renaissance. We may emphasize this difference by a simile. For one man, the "core of an apple" might mean a few seeds and a bit of stem; for another man "core" might mean half the bulk of the apple. Similarly, for one man "transcendentalism" means a few philosophical utterances of Emerson; for another it means a combination of forces acting over a period of years. This is the third and greatest difficulty.

The fact is that transcendentalism never fully evolved. It was not like our solar system, where bodies pursue their orbits according to recognized laws. It was more like some forming cosmos, a perceptible nucleus, and a vast quantity of cloudy nebula in restless, violent motion undecided whether to condense and form a world or to continue flying through the void. The first thing a critic must decide is whether his definition is to describe only the central nuclei or the outer luminous revolving mass. My judgment is that a satisfactory definition must do both. The transcendentalists themselves succeeded in catching the trailing filaments of thought which clung about their enterprise better than any critics of later years. In the opening pages of the first issue of the Dial, the editors most plainly state that they are not supporting any particular body of doctrine. They have "obeyed, though with great joy, the strong current of thought and feeling, which, for a few years past, has led many sincere persons in New England to make new demands

on literature, and to reprobate that rigor of our conventions of religion and education, which renounces hope, which looks only backward, which asks only such a future as the past, which suspects improvement, and holds nothing so much in horror as the dreams of youth." They proceed to speak, in an obscure but eloquent way, of some new-awakened hope, which has penetrated every corner of New England, and reached ministers, teachers, hired laborers, women, rich and poor, the members of every class of society, a hope which finds expression in various ways. "This spirit of the time is felt by every individual with some difference, --- to each one casting its light upon the objects nearest to his temper and habits of thought; --- to one, coming in the shape of special reforms in the state; to another, in modifications of the various callings of men, and the customs of business; to a third, opening a new scope for literature and art; to a fourth, in philosophical insight; to a fifth, in the vast solitudes of prayer. It is in every form a protest against usage, and a search for principles."¹

Instead of taking their cue from these lines in the Dial, and attempting to explain the movement on a large scale, most critics are content to analyze the philosophy of some central figure (Emerson, of course, being oftenest selected) and to dismiss transcendentalism as soon as they have condemned or appraised that philosophy. The difficulty with this method is that some of the transcendentalists did not have a formulated philosophy. Those that did have a definite system of beliefs were for the most part idealists; but

1. Dial, Vol. I, p. 1.



they were by no means the same kind of idealist. Emerson was a liberal moralist, Margaret Fuller was an esthete more completely under the German influence than the others, Alcott was a mystic who retailed his visions in oceanic talk, Thoreau was a cynical recluse and a naturalist, Ripley was a social reformer, Parker was a practical-minded scholar, Cranch was a poet of spiritualized nature like Wordsworth.

Much scholarly labor ^{has?} was now pretty thoroughly revealed the various outside influence upon Emerson's thought: German, English, Greek, Oriental, and American. Most investigators are content to follow certain statements made by Emerson himself, and trace the man's idealism to the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). In an early article in the Dial¹ Emerson gives in a few paragraphs a history of modern philosophy, the substance of which is this. Locke, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, taught empiricism, the view that all knowledge is derived from experience through the senses. Hume pushed Locke's empirical teachings farther in the direction of materialism and skepticism. Kant attempted to controvert this theory of knowledge. He labored to prove that the ideas of the Reason (virtue, the soul, the unity of the world, God, etc.) are not derived from experience, but are implanted in the very constitution of the mind. The mind is therefore capable of other knowledge than that furnished by the senses or the use of logic. Emerson states that the name "transcendentalism" was first used by Kant as a name for "the recognition in man of the capacity of knowing truth intuitively, or of attaining a scientific knowledge of an

1. Dial, 2, 88.

order of existence transcending the reach of the senses, and of which we can have no sensible experience."¹ This name came gradually, no one knowing just when or how, to be applied to the American school, and was adopted by these free spirits with some reluctance.²

On the same page on which he discusses Kant, Emerson acknowledges that he has never seen the philosopher's writings, but receives his knowledge through an English interpreter. And critics have made plain that other members of the American school received the Kantian ideas in a roundabout way; some through Kant's successors, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel; some through German romantic literature, particularly through Goethe and Richter, some through the French interpretations of German thought made by Cousin, Constant, and De Stael, and, most, through the German ideas as transplanted to England by Coleridge and Carlyle.

Other scholars are not satisfied to refer Emerson to a German source. Professor Woodbridge Riley³ is convinced that a stronger and earlier influence was exerted on Emerson by Berkeley, Quarles, Vaughn, Herbert, Cudworth, More, and a number of other British poets and speculators, all of whom refer back, ultimately, to Plato and Plotinus. He seeks to show that Emerson's system was complete in 1836, and that his essay on Nature, published then, is in tone and thought much closer to the Greek than to the German philosophy. It appears to me that Professor Riley's theory is a good counter to those who tend to place too great weight on the German influence. But credits which he withdraws from the German

1. Dial, 2, 90.

2. Dial, 2, 382.

3. American Thought, p. 161.

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to bestow upon the classic, I should prefer to distribute among the American influences.

The American influences on Emerson's thought have not been carefully worked out, even though his writings give many clear and valuable suggestions. In the same essay in which he speaks of Kant, Emerson affirms that transcendentalism "is, in reality, the philosophy of common life, and of common experience. It will be found that all men, mostly, perhaps, unconsciously, believe and act upon it; and that even to those, who reject it, and argue against it, it is the practical philosophy of belief and conduct. Every man is a transcendentalist; and all true faith, the motives of all just action, are transcendental."¹ In a later article in the Dial Emerson suggests more definitely that one source of his belief is the teaching of religion. "The more liberal thought of intelligent persons acquires a new name in each period or community; and in ours, by no very good luck, as it sometimes appears to me, has been designated as Transcendentalism. We have every day occasion to remark its perfect identity, under whatever new phraseology or application to new facts, with the liberal thought of all men of a religious or contemplative habit in other times and countries. We were lately so much struck with two independent testimonies to this fact, proceeding from persons, one in sympathy with the Quakers and the other with the Calvinistic Church, that we have begged the privilege to transcribe an extract from two private letters, in order that we might bring them together.

1. Dial, Vol. II, p. 87. The earliest use of the word transcendentalism in Emerson's journals is in an entry for 1827, where he speaks of it as something "new". Journals, 2, 164.

"The Calvinist writes to his Correspondent after this manner. 'All the peculiarities of the theology, denominated Trinitarian, are directly or indirectly transcendental . . . The mystery of the Father revealed only in the Son as the Word of Life, the Light which illuminates every man, outwardly in the incarnation and offering for sin, inwardly as the Christ in us, energetic and quickening in the inspirations of the Holy Spirit, — the great mystery wherein we find redemption, this, like the rest, is transcendental. So throughout.'

"The Friend writes thus.

" 'It is very interesting to me to see, as I do, all around me here, the essential doctrines of the Quakers revived, modified, stript of all that puritanism and sectarianism had heaped upon them, and made the foundation of an intellectual philosophy, that is illuminating the finest minds and reaches the wants of the least cultivated. The more I reflect upon the Quakers, the more I admire the early ones, and am suprised at their being so far in advance of their age, but they have educated the world till it is now able to go beyond those teachers.'"

Emerson then comments. "The identity, which the writer of this letter finds between the speculative opinions of serious persons, at the present moment, and those entertained by the first Quakers, it is indeed so striking as to have drawn a very general attention of later years to the history of that sect. Of course, in proportion to the depth of the experience, will be its independence of time and circumstances, yet one can hardly read George Fox's Journal, or Sewel's History of the Quakers, without many a rising of joyful surprise at the correspondence of facts and expressions to

states of thought and feeling, with which we are very familiar."¹

It appears to me certain, from the evidence of Emerson's own writings, that both native and German forces are present in his thought. If this be true, and if the account of religious history in the early part of this chapter is near the truth, I can now quickly state my own view of transcendentalism as a continuation of the New England introspective tradition. Transcendentalism was the revival of enthusiasm when introspection shifted its ground from religion to philosophy, from the supernatural to the natural. For two centuries the New England mind had developed its gift for "revelations" and illuminations. And by the long line of mystics from Anne Hutchinson and Cotton Mather to Joseph Smith, these visions had been regarded as supernatural. Unitarianism discredited ecstasy and visions, and the empirical philosophy of Locke was on the eve of driving them from their ancient strongholds. The intuitionist philosophy of Kant entered at this critical moment; it not only saved vision and revelation; it gave them a new lease on life, because it appeared to place them on a rational basis, and make them normal like any fact of nature.

Intuition, Emerson believed, transcends the senses only; it is a method and operation of nature. Revelation is not arbitrary and occasional, but natural and continuous. Deity permeates nature; does not act upon us from without in time and space, but spiritually, through us, as life operates through the branches of a tree. Nature is an incarnation of God, and its order is inviolable. Introspection carries the mind beyond the realm of the senses, but not beyond the realm of nature. To prove this thesis Emerson wrote

1. Dial, Vol. II, p. 382, Jan. 1842.

his first book, Nature. In the first few sentences he attempts to place the old hope of New England on secure and natural ground. "The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs?" He meant that he had found new ground for the old hopes. All the old promises of introspection were to be realized, not in the supernatural world; but in the natural. "Anomalous facts, as the never quite obsolete rumours of magic and demonology, and the new allegations of phrenologists and neurologists, are of ideal use. They are good indications. Homoeopathy is insignificant as an art of healing, but of great value as criticism on the hygeia or medical practice of the time. So with Mesmerism, Swedenborgism, Fourierism, and the Millennial Church; they poor pretentions enough, but good criticism on the science, philosophy, and preaching of the day. For these abnormal insights of the adepts ought to be normal, and things of course."¹

These insights ought to be normal, and things of course! Life was perpetual inspiration. That was the spirit that animated the transcendental school. Men who were not philosophers understood that, understood that some new ground had been discovered for the old hopes of introspection. They did not stop to question the surety of the ground for their belief; off they flew into bright new enterprises of the spirit, one enthusiasm giving courage to another. The inner light of nature led them into reforms of church and state, to

1. Nominalist and Realist.

ransacking of libraries and building new ones, to increase everywhere the possession of culture, freedom, and toleration. Transcendentalism broadened, and merged with the renaissance. Those who lived through that era cannot speak of it without a strain of eloquence. John Nichol's testimony is as good as any. "There are many now of middle age to whom the reading of Carlyle and Emerson brought the sense of a new revelation. To us, in that period of ready enthusiasm, as to the first students of Schelling, or the first imitators of Goethe, the oracles seemed to be no longer dumb; Nature took on new meanings, and the secret of life was about to be unfolded."¹

The Year 1843

In the Boston of 1843 a hundred thousand citizens moved hopefully between the Charles River and Roxbury plain, along the harbor front developing new industries, or on the eminence of Beacon Hill devising new social formulas that were to bring a golden age. The tone of commercial Boston was flushed, expectant; the tone of intellectual Boston was militant, assuring. The rich merchants and bankers were not ordinary merchants and bankers; they were men who believed in an idea. They sent vessels to develop the fur trade on the Northwest coast, and drew from the Orient silks and spices and teas. They read the future in a printed map, and made their wealth throw railway lines across the Mississippi Valley. They fin-

1. Nicol, John: American Literature, p. 261.

anced ideal and sentimental enterprises, they founded colleges, hospitals, theatres, symphony halls, museums. And the intellectual populace of Boston was no ordinary populace. It daily filled Faneuil Hall to listen to socialists, religious reformers, any orator who had a message or could sketch in bright colors a vision of the future. Lowell Institute, a popular university founded to provide free lectures on universal knowledge, could and did attract, even for such abstruse subjects as "The Being and Attributes of God," an audience of more than two thousand persons.¹ The sermons in Unitarian churches possessed intellectual range wide enough to include abolition, Madame de Stael, and the Edinburgh Review.²

In the very center of this new-awakened Boston, at 12 West Street, a private house was fitted as a "foreign circulating library", and on an improvised counter lay French and German books for sale. A small printing establishment operated in connection, and the whole was under the direction of Elizabeth Peabody and her father. Here came, at intervals during the day, friendly groups for literary gossip and philosophy: Bronson Alcott, James Freeman Clarke, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Horace Mann, George Bancroft, Frederick Hedge, John Dwight, Christopher Cranch. Women mingled with men on equal terms: Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child, Mrs. Horace Mann, Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne (the last two being sisters of Elizabeth Peabody), and many others. Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, and men of the younger generation were not wanting. Even a few conservative souls like Andrews Norton

1. Hale, Edward Everett: A New England Boyhood, p. 244.

2. Tudor, William: Letters on the Eastern States, p. 99.

came from Harvard. George Ripley and other blythe spirits of the Brook Farm enterprise made this their rendezvous. Here were analyzed and discussed the latest Revue des Deux Mondes, the latest communal ideas of Owen and Fourier, slavery, psychic investigations, poetry present and to be. The aura of this small bookshop made itself felt in every corner of New England.

In one of the parlors over the Peabody book shop, and elsewhere about Boston, Margaret Fuller gave her "Conversations". Clarke, Channing, and Emerson bear witness to the profound and inspiring result. Here and elsewhere Alcott carried his audience skyward in celestial monolog; beginning with a quotation from Plato or Plotinus, or from his favorite metaphysical poets Spenser, Donne, or Herbert, and swiftly leaving earth on far-darting wings of abstraction, through the misty realm of Instinct, Understanding, Reason, Imagination, Intuition, his thought soared higher and higher, and dissolved among the clouds.

In 1843 New England reformers had reached the zenith of their hopes. It actually appeared as if Brook Farm, that audacious experiment in communal living, which had already weathered two stormy years, might succeed, might revolutionize industry and make over society on the basis of new social groups. Its romantic ploughmen and philosophic reapers gleaned a fair living from the two hundred acres. The school, since the Brook Farm lay near the suburbs of Boston, prospered and grew. In the spring of this expansive year a great workshop was built for the mechanic industries, where meditative carpenters and blacksmiths could develop an ideal union between intellectual and manual labor, "combine the thinker and worker in the same individual", could "prepare a society of liberal intelligent, cultivated persons, whose relations with each other

would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions."¹ In this same year, the beginning of a greenhouse and ornamental garden showed that the esthetic nature of the millennial man was not to be neglected. Here also was established the Harbinger, a literary publication whose genial name suggested, to those who did not know it already, that the world had a future, and that the husks of convention were soon to be cast aside forever.²

Religious enthusiasm was now throughout New England at a high exultant pitch, and could only relieve its excess of spirit by conventions and revivals and preparations for the evangelization of the world. Sects, creeds, spiritual expectations multiplied, a new one every day. Every layman became a preacher, and every preacher became a prophet. The words of the Old Testament were fulfilled: "Would God, that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them."³ Shakers, Quakers, Moravians, Mormons, Campbellites, held converse direct with God. In the year 1843 one Mary Baker, a young invalid of Lynn, Massachusetts, was

1. A letter, G. Ripley to R. W. Emerson, Nov. 9, 1840.

2. Thomas Carlyle, in the last few pages of Past and Present (1843) refers to Brook Farm as one of the signs of political promise. "But truly it is beautiful to see the brutish empire of Mammon cracking everywhere; giving sure promise of dying, or of being changed. A strange, chill, almost ghastly dayspring strikes up in Yankeeland itself: my Transcendental friends announce there, in a distinct, though somewhat lankhaired, ungainly manner, that the Demiurgus Dollar is dethroned; that new unheard-of Demiurguships, Priesthoods, Aristocracies, Growths and Destructions, are already visible in the grey of coming Time . . . Yes, here as there, light is coming into the world." . .

3. Numbers: 11, 4.

married, and afterward, trying in turn allopathy, homeopathy, hydropathy, electricity, spiritualism, mesmerism, each more attenuated than the last, originated Christian Science, and solved the world's ills by denying them existence.¹ In 1843 Joseph Smith received the inspired message which proclaimed the new ordinance of "heavenly marriage". In 1843, the Millerites put on their ascension robes and waited the coming of the Lord.

Had the world then come to an end, instead of revolving on in the old bad way, American literature would have been cut short in its prime. Emerson, sometimes in Concord seclusion and sometimes in thriving Boston, was writing the second series of his essays, The Poet, Nature, Nominalist and Realist. Here was the same spiritual vision of the years before, no slaking of poetic fires. Emerson now had taken over the control of the three-years-old Dial from Margaret Fuller, and under his safe guidance, protecting its columns from fanatical humanitarians, it was still perhaps possible to proceed with conservative soundness to make the world over, to exalt the individual above society, to secure the triumph of spiritual intuitions. The Dial still, true to its name, indicated the coming of the transcendental sun to its meridian. The contributors all spoke in the same rapt messianic voice. "There seems now born into

1. It was not until 1867 that Mrs. Eddy formulated her theories, and Science and Health, with a Key to the Holy Scriptures was not published until 1875. But several scholars profess to be able to connect her writings with the transcendental movement. Woodbridge Riley (Psychological Review, Vol. 10, p. 593) asserts that her work contains (1) a portion of the doctrine of the Yankee mesmeric "healer" Quimby of Maine, (2) a portion of the doctrines of the Shaker prophetess, Mother Ann Lee of New Hampshire, and (3) a portion of the Platonic rhapsodies of Bronson Alcott. It is known that Alcott met Mrs. Eddy.



the world a newer, fresher spirit. . . The thought, the wish, the hope for something better is all but universal. . . It is the intuitive certainty of a better tomorrow, which makes to-day's ills tolerable."¹

"Enthusiasm", "inspiration", "instinct", "intuition", "self-reliance" --- these were the stock phrases of transcendental fervor. No one ever spoke of "talents"; every man had a "genius", or a "spiritual principle", and persons were drawn toward one another by "the law of attraction". "O for the safe and natural way of the intuitions!" Margaret Fuller cried. "O for a more calm, more pervading faith in the divinity of my own nature!"² Mrs. Samuel Ripley voiced the same idea: "The germ of intuition lies buried in every soul: the inspired man speaks, and it responds."³ And Alcott in his more dogmatic way: "Act out our own genius, nothing else avails."⁴ Emerson struck a more resonant metallic note in the same theme: "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string."⁵ When these electric forces released by introspection cast their auroral influence, the world seemed no longer the same: an awakening was near, a fulfilment of some long-deferred promise.

1. Dial, Vol. IV, p. 66; July, 1843. "Social Tendencies."

2. Memoirs, I, 171, 176; also 211.

3. Worthy Women of Our First Century, p. 185.

4. Table Talk, p. 43. "The Creator did the best possible under the circumstances to make a right beginning of you. First ascertain his intent, and proceed forthwith to enact this to the best of your ability. If a crooked stick, consider yourself gifted in that particular."

5. Self-Reliance.

But in this same year, very subtle at first, crept into the pleasant harmonies of this transcendental music an autumnal note. Even in the Dial the change of tone may be heard, presageful as the cricket's chirp. In the article on Social Tendencies, which we have already quoted, a plaintive tone succeeds the enthusiasm. "Scarcely a projector, or inventor, or intense student, has broached the object of his absorbing pursuit, without affirming also that it was the means for human regeneration. The profits on gas light were to pay off national debts and set the bankrupt world upright to start afresh. Spinning-jennies, steam-engines, power-looms, canals, rail-roads, have each in turn been made to promise pecuniary and moral redemption to the insolvent and hardened human race. But this species of redemptory designs is nearly worn threadbare. The hope in science is as attenuated as the hope in politics. . . . With a perpetual deferring of hope, which, by perverting the heart's eye from the true and stable centre upon the turbulent and dazzling circumference, makes the soul forever sad and sick, science still attracts as the magnet of human resuscitation."¹ And in a continuation of this article in the October issue, the plaintive note is stronger. "How mistaken men are as to the cause of the unhappiness, or how unready they are to admit it, is evident in the great variety of subjects to which human misery had been attributed. Hereditary monarchy, hereditary aristocracy, a law-established church, corrupt parliaments, national debts, taxation, machinery, education, ignorance, over-production, over-population, excessive commercial enter-

1. Dial, Vol. IV, p. 80; July, 1843. The article is signed C.L.; it was probably written by Charles Lane.

prise, banking, and various other facts have been suggested to account for the discontented condition of man. It only needs a geographical survey to see that in countries where most of these afflictions are unknown, happiness does not yet attend man."¹

In February, 1843, Elizabeth Peabody, publisher of the Dial, wrote to Emerson that the subscription list was falling off. The highest figure the regular subscriptions ever reached was 220, although many copies were sold separately.² Emerson was acting as editor and banker for the Dial, and endorsed Miss Peabody's notes to meet an increasing deficit in current expenses. In this same year Emerson transferred the publication to James Monroe and Company. But matters went from bad to worse, and the difficulty with the subscription list was the beginning of the end. In July, 1843, the editor bravely entered upon volume 4. When the four issues of that volume were complete, the Dial suspended publication.

The Brook Farm enterprise now encountered difficulties similar to those of the Dial. In 1843 a third mortgage was placed upon a part of the property to obtain funds for new buildings, where with a new start might be taken toward the reformation of society. At the same time the community reorganized itself after the socialistic theories of Fourier; that is, it partly shifted from a spiritual to a utilitarian basis. The change was regretfully noted by Elizabeth Peabody, writing in the last number of the Dial.

1. Dial, Vol. IV, p. 195; Oct., 1843.

2. Cooke, George W.: Journal of Speculative Philosophy, 19, 3; July, 1885; "The Dial". This article, which gives an almost complete list of contributors, is the best thing ever written about the Dial.

"The first objection that strikes a spiritual or intellectual person at the presentation of Fourierism, is its captivating material aspect. . . Fourierism stops short, and, in so doing, proves itself to be, not a life, a soul, but only a body."¹

The enthusiasm of reformers, transcendentalists, and religious extremists had now so far abandoned itself in manias of every kind, that a popular reaction was inevitable, and ridicule now had its sobering effect. Alcott's rhapsodies became a frequent target, and Emerson's cryptic sentences were lampooned, and distorted in grotesque caricatures. "Standing on the bare ground . . . I become a transparent eyeball." Hootings of unbelievers made evident to social reformers that the golden age had not arrived. The end of the world likewise failed to gratify religious expectations, and one bright summer morning, having waited vainly all night, the Millerites laid aside their shining robes, and went home perplexed to know whether God had forgotten his appointment, or they had miscalculated his appearing.

Our purpose is not to attach too much weight to these fluctuations of popular opinion. The practice and the hopes of introspection were too deeply established through two centuries to be laughed away by a jocular remark. But, even in the central literary figures, in all save perhaps Emerson, now came the beginning of a decline. And among serious thinkers, the first to reflect the declining fortunes of the age, and to record his disillusion in permanent literature, was Hawthorne. In 1843 Hawthorne published his

1. Dial, Vol. IV, p. 473; April, 1844.

sharp-edged satire on transcendental hopes, "The Celestial Railroad".

This last statement brings us to the proper subject of the thesis; but to this brief chronology I may append, as a matter rather of omen than of intrinsic importance, one other fact of literary history. In thriving, commercial New York of this expansive year, at the home of a Swedenborgian theological writer, lay in their cradle two children who were to inherit their father's psychological subtlety: Henry, born in April of 1843, and William, born in January of the year before. These two innocents, not conscious of the ferments of a great world into which they had been born at a critical moment, William and Henry James, were destined to carry the New England tradition to its natural end, for in them the introspective habit of long years reached its culmination.

CHAPTER II

THE DECLINE OF TRANSCENDENTAL HOPES IN HAWTHORNE

Hawthorne and Puritanism

Hawthorne and Transcendentalism

The Great Quest

Disillusion

CHAPTER II

THE DECLINE OF TRANSCENDENTAL HOPES IN HAWTHORNE

Hawthorne and Puritanism

Nathaniel Hawthorne possessed more than the normal amount of Yankee shrewdness and common sense. It seems necessary to begin with this simple statement to offset the indulgence of minor critics who call him a "wizard" or "magician", and to secure a basis for the arguments which are to follow. When, throughout the chapter, I dwell upon the more subtle or intangible side of Hawthorne's nature, I shall always be able to restore the balance by referring back to this initial assertion about his unfailing common sense. A number of witnesses furnish ready evidence of the fact. The man's son states the matter plainly: "He was many-sided, unimpulsive, clear-headed; he had the deliberation and leisureliness of a well-balanced intellect; he was the slave of no theory and no emotion; he always knew, so to speak, where he was and what he was about."¹ Mr. Brownell, describing not only the author, but his works, repeats: "There is no greater sanity to be met with in literature than Hawthorne's. The wholesome constitution of his mind is inveterate and presides with unintermittent constancy in his prose."²

1. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 1, p. 83. The author goes on to say: "His forefathers . . . were at all events enterprising, active, practical men, stern and courageous. . . True, they were Puritans, and doubtless were more or less under dominion to the terrible Puritan conscience; but it is hardly reasonable to suppose that this was the only one of their traits which they bequeathed to their successor."

2. Brownell, W. C. : American Prose Masters, "Hawthorne," p. 74.

Having thrown out this general statement as a kind of safeguard and anchor, we may proceed at once to our subject of introspection.

Hawthorne was fitted to observe and absorb New England traditions, by his sensitiveness, and his perception of fine mental distinctions. It will be easy to exhibit several aspects of this sensitive perception, and we may as well begin with the more gross and obvious examples. Acuteness of sense is distinctly exhibited in the account of a night ride in an Erie Canal boat. In the great common bedroom where twenty restless passengers, men and women, are stowed away for the night, the author cannot fail to be aware of a crude uproar. But underneath this coarse outward clamor, he becomes conscious of other and fainter noises, he has the sensation of "hearing" a woman undress, and can even identify the unseen person, his ear having assumed the properties of an eye, one sense doing service for another.¹ He continually records the subtle and omits the strong sensation. He declared that he never could distinguish between "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia";²

1. "My head was close to the crimson curtain, --- the sexual division of the boat, --- behind which I continually heard whispers and stealthy footsteps; the noise of a comb laid on the table or a slipper dropped on the floor; the twang, like a broken harpstring, caused by loosening a tight belt; the rustling of a gown in its descent; and the unlacing of a pair of stays. My ear seemed to have the properties of an eye; a visible image pestered my fancy in the darkness; the curtain was withdrawn between me and the western lady, who yet disrobed herself without a blush."

--- Mosses from an Old Mause, "Sketches from Memory", p.491.

2. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol.1, p. 103.

but he read Scott's poems to his children with the keenest relish for their rhythm and melody, the beauty of which was enhanced by his delivery. He makes frequent use of the sense of smell; the odor of an exotic flower drifts across the pages of his story, and pervades the air for a perceptible lapse of time. On one occasion he speaks of the memorableness of scent.¹ He explains why he prefers the gently undulating hills of Concord, to the abrupt and headlong declivities of Berkshire; "because they do not stamp and stereotype themselves into the brain, and thus grow wearisome with the same strong impression, repeated day after day."² He notes the slight gradation of sunlight and season: "How early in the summer, too, the prophecy of autumn comes! ... sometimes even in the first weeks of July. There is no other feeling like what is caused by this faint, doubtful, yet real perception --- if it be not rather a foreboding --- of the year's decay."³ He describes the somnolent spell of a dull novel, as he sits in his rocker and smokes.

1. "Odors, being a sort of element combined of the sensual and the spiritual, are apt to deceive us ... The recollection of a perfume, the bare idea of it, may easily be mistaken for a present reality." --- Mosses from an Old Mause, "Rappaccini's Daughter," p.136.

2. "These broad meadows and gentle eminences ... are better than mountains. A few summer weeks among mountains, a lifetime among green meadows and placid slopes, with outlines forever new, because continually fading out of memory, --- such would be my sober choice." Tanglewood Tales, p.206. (I cannot forbear saying, by the way, that this "undulating" quality is the main structural virtue of Hawthorne's style.)

3. Mosses from an Old Mause, p.36. Here, and elsewhere (e.g.p.174) Hawthorne draws the inevitable parallel: "How invariably, throughout all the forms of life, do we find these intermingled memorials of death."

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My book was of the dullest, yet had a sort of sluggish flow, like that of a stream in which your boat is as often aground as afloat. Had there been a more impetuous rush, a more absorbing passion of the narrative, I should the sooner have struggled out of its uneasy current, and have given myself up to the swell and subsidence of my thoughts. But, as it was, the torpid life of the book served as an unobtrusive accompaniment to the life within me and about me.¹ So tenuous do the outlines of Hawthorne's pictures become, that we actually find him describing a negation. An old apple dealer in a railway station has no marks or features to lay hold upon; he is "an almost hueless^A object"; the most delicate stroke of the pencil, might, in describing him, introduce some too positive tint. The subdued tone is kept, and the portrait is drawn.² Sleep, dreams and the dim region between this and wide consciousness, were his

1. The Blithedale Romance, p.487.

2. "Unconsciously to myself and unsuspected by him, I have studied the old apple dealer until he has become a naturalized citizen of my inner world ... Many a noble form, many a beautiful face, has flitted before me and vanished like a shadow. It is a strange witchcraft whereby this faded and featureless old apple dealer has gained a settlement in my memory."---Mosses from an Old Manse, p.495.

A similar "negative" character is Hastings in "The Christmas Banquet", p.322. Throughout his work, Hawthorne exhibits the uncanny aptness in describing the absence of something.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is not only one of the most important but also one of the most difficult in the history of science. The author points out that the problem has been discussed since the earliest times, but it was only in the last few decades that it has become a subject of serious scientific investigation. The author then proceeds to discuss the various theories that have been proposed to explain the origin of life. He shows that each of these theories has its own merits and its own difficulties, and that the problem is still far from being solved. The author then discusses the various methods that have been used to study the origin of life, and shows that each of these methods has its own limitations. Finally, the author concludes that the problem of the origin of life is still one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science, and that it is still far from being solved.

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frequent theme.¹ Most of all he contemplated the cause and after-course of sin, the pressure of guilt upon a troubled mind, not with sudden impact, but secret, devious, remorseless in its recurrence by day and in the intervals of night, as if it were gravitation or other unrelenting law of nature.

Because Hawthorne had this subtlety of feeling and expression, it is customary to say that he records the deepest qualities of the New England mind;² and because he was preoccupied with moral problems, it is common to regard him as both interpreter and inheritor of

1. "For a little time, slumber hung about her like a morning mist, hindering her from perceiving the distinct outline of her situation. She listened with imperfect consciousness to two or three volleys of a rapid and eager knocking; and first she deemed the noise a matter of course, like the breath she drew; next, it appeared a thing in which she had no concern; and lastly, she became aware that it was a summons necessary to be obeyed." ---The Snow-Image, "The Wives of the Dead", p.603.

As early as 1836 Hawthorne had written an article for the American Magazine of Useful Knowledge (Vol.2,p.385) on "The Nature of Sleep". He quoted the English Dr.Philip's opinion that man has two systems -- a sensitive which alternates between excitement and exhaustion; recovered from by sleep; and a vital system, that never sleeps. "Hence we may infer that no living creature has ever been more than half asleep... How strange and mysterious is our love of sleep!"

2. James, Henry: Hawthorne. "Half the interest that he possesses for an American reader with any turn for analysis must reside in his latent New England savour" (p.3). "He virtually offers the most vivid reflection of New England life that has found its way into literature" (p.4). "Hawthorne's work ... is redolent of the social system in which he had his being" (p.5).

Puritanism.¹ The influence of Puritan traditions is, indeed, obvious to every reader, and Hawthorne himself, in the introduction to the The Scarlet Letter, acknowledges it.² The critics have, on the whole, agreed in making Hawthorne the greatest representative of Puritan mind in American letters.³ Some of them attach provisos and exceptions. Stoddard is intent that we shall not think Hawthorne inherited the superstition and illusions of the earliest period.⁴ Lowell speaks of Hawthorne as an "unwilling" witness,

1. Brownell, W.C. : American Prose Masters, "Hawthorne," p.78. "His faculty for discovering morals .. is .. a by-product of Puritan preoccupation."

Symonds, J.A. : Hawthorne, An Oration (1878). "The subtle analysis of spiritual moods, which made him at home in the darkest recesses of the human heart, long reflection upon the motives and moods and processes in minds conscious of crimes, sure intuition of the laws that govern them, a profound, perhaps melancholy, thoughtfulness upon the problems of good and evil, guilt and sorrow, life and death--- these are but new growths in later times of those dark-veined leaves that grew upon the Puritan stalk."

2. p.25. "These stern and black-browed Puritans ... strong traits of their nature have intertwined themselves with mine."

3. We may pause long enough to note one exception. Mr. John Macy (The Spirit of American Literature, p.83) has a light-hearted way of discarding popular traditions in criticism. "Fictitious literary history is wont to regard Hawthorne as the chronicler and poetic embodiment of the Puritan spirit. The Puritans were gloomy and Hawthorne is gloomy; behold, the assimilation is perfect, the heredity is self-evident. In sooth, Hawthorne was the least Puritan of the New England writers ... 'The Scarlet Letter' is in no sense a historical novel of Puritan life, any more than Macbeth is a study of the early history of Scotland."

4. Stoddard, Richard Henry : Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ninth Edition, Vol. XIII, "Hawthorne", p.103. "He inherited the gravity of his Puritan ancestors without their superstition."

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

2. The second part of the paper describes the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed discussion of the different types of data that can be collected, such as sales data, customer feedback, and market research. The author also discusses the importance of using statistical methods to analyze this data and to draw meaningful conclusions from it.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

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6. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

7. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

8. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

9. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

10. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The author argues that without accurate records, it is impossible to make informed decisions or to identify areas for improvement.

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one who fought against the past, and was bound by it at the same time.¹ Hutton carries out this idea of the unwilling witness in a remarkable metaphor.

"Hawthorne has been called a mystic, which he was not, --- and a psychological dreamer, which he was in a very slight degree. He was really the ghost of New England,--- I do not mean the 'spirit' nor the 'phantom', but the ghost in the older sense... endowed with a certain painful sense of the gulf between his nature and its organization, always recognizing the gulf, always trying to bridge it over, and always more or less unsuccessful in the attempt. His writings are not exactly spiritual writings, for there is no dominating spirit in them. They are ghostly writings. Hawthorne was, to my mind, a sort of sign to New England of the divorce that has been going on there ... between its people's spiritual and earthly nature, and of the difficulty which they will soon feel, if they are to be absorbed more and more in that shrewd, hard, earthly sense which is one of their most striking characteristics, in even communicating with their former self."²

This paragraph strikes me as the most penetrating thing ever written about Hawthorne. Perhaps it slightly over-emphasizes the serious element; perhaps it does not enough assert that Hawthorne, if he was a ghost, was an esthetic ghost, returning some-

1. Lowell, James Russell: Works, Vol. 1, Thoreau, p. 365.

"The Puritanism of the past found its unwilling poet in Hawthorne, the rarest creative imagination of the century, the rarest in some respects since Shakespeare."

2. Hutton, Richard Holt: Essays in Literary criticism, "Hawthorne", p. 98.

times to the past for the mere pleasure of ghostly visitation. But, having made this amendment, I subscribe to Hutton's idea: Hawthorne's chief interest was moral, not esthetic; he was a troubled spirit, forever seeking to cross the invisible barriers that divided the old departed life of New England from the new. This idea fits in readily with my conception of the decline of introspection, and I shall therefore at this point take leave of the critics, and give my own opinion of what Hawthorne's relation to the past of New England was.

No writer of authority has been bold enough to define New England Puritanism, and, with a measure of the same discretion, I shall be content to name a few of its numerous characteristics, without pretending to arrive at the completeness of a formal definition. First, introspection. I place this first because it lived longest; it is also a broad term, and includes other qualities in its scope. Second, a stoical sense of duty; resignation. This quality lasted beyond the limit which we ordinarily assign to the Puritan period; it is prominent even in the writings of Emerson and Mrs. Eddy, who had outgrown the old creeds and dogmas, and the old acute consciousness of sin and evil. Third, the idea that

evil is inherent (and well-nigh dominant) in human nature.¹ Fourth, a fantastic melancholy imagination. This quality is by no means as important as the others, and was erratic in its appearance. When it did appear, it produced the delusions of witchcraft, gave to vices, virtues, and similar abstractions an almost personal entity, and to the devil's eternal flame a concrete and imposing reality. Fifth, a strange combination of the practical and the spiritual, of Yankee shrewdness, and visionary hope.² Perhaps

1. Nearly every writer places this quality, along with its external accompaniment, the familiar gloomy bearing, first in the list. Much depends upon the point of view. If we are using Puritanism as a contrast-word for transcendentalism and the liberal spirit of later New England, then it is correct to make the concept of evil the central issue. If we are using Puritanism as a contrast-word for ways of thinking in other parts of the world, then, in my opinion, the concept of evil is not the central issue, although it is important. For my part, I do not think of Puritanism as something which perished abruptly when transcendentalism arrived; I think of it as a deep-flowing manner of thought which has persisted to the present day. And the concept of evil, however important its role in the early development of New England thought, was not the quality which had greatest hardihood and the longest life.

2. How two incompatible things like common sense, and skepticism of the senses, could flourish side by side would be strange enough if history had not furnished us with parallels. The Hebrews, to judge by their literature, are visionary and idealistic; but they are, at the same time, the shrewdest money-getters in the world. The Irish, as one may realize from their literature, have in them an element of dream and fairy lore; but they also become politicians and matter-of-fact policemen. The New Englander has always shown a similar double capacity. Emerson can recite the virtues of reliance on the over-soul, but he cannot fail to praise also the "sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who ... teams it, farms it, peddles, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always, like a cat, falls on his feet." The phrase "Christian Science" itself represents the seemingly inconsistent mingling for which the New England mind was capable and apt.

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Puritanism had other marks and characters; but we have an enumeration sufficient for our purpose. All of the qualities we have recounted are present in the work of Hawthorne, so that it is with good reason that he is called the conservator of Puritan traditions.

Yet Hawthorne reacted against Puritanism; with progressive emphasis, in his later books, he speaks of the cold and stifling qualities of his ancestors' religion. He reacted from Puritanism, but he was fascinated by it, held by it.

In the earliest Twice-Told Tales Puritanism is treated with considerable sympathy. In "The Maypole of Merry Mount" the author laments the disappearance of harmless pleasures before stern Puritanic law, but the conclusion seems to be that all was for the best, for the characters "never wasted one regretful thought on the vanities of Merry Mount".¹ In "The Gentle Boy," which has for its theme the strife between Puritan and Quaker, the Puritan side is throughout treated with respect and sympathy.² In the opening chapter of Mosses from an Old Manse (1846), Puritan theology is represented as frigid. "Thought grows mouldy. What was good and nourishing food for the spirits of one generation affords no sustenance for the next".³ In The Scarlet Letter (1850), Hawthorne's

1. Twice-Told Tales, p.84.

2. Twice-Told Tales, p.85. A Puritan woman, symbolizing rational piety, and a Quaker woman, symbolizing unbridled fanaticism, contend for the possession of a little boy.

3. Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 29

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reaction against Puritan harshness is quite evident.¹ He has no good word for any aspect of Puritan custom, its clergy, its social life, its judgments or ideals. Mr. Woodberry even goes so far as to say that he distorts Puritanism, misrepresents it, for the sake of discrediting it.² At the same time, he is held in the grip of the very system of thought which he seeks to discredit. As Henry James says, Puritanism is in the book not only objectively, as the author tried to place it there, but subjectively, as if it operated through the author against his will.³ In The Snow-Image (1851), the criticism of Puritanism is outspoken. "Happy are we ... because we did not live in those days.. of .. miserable distortions of the moral nature. Such a life was sinister to the intellect,

1. Stephen, Leslie: Hours in a Library, Vol. 1, p.95. "His Puritan blood shows itself in sympathy, not with the stern side of the ancestral creed, but with the feebler characters upon whom it weighed as an oppressive terror."

2. Woodberry, George E.: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p.202. "The book ... is the essence of New England; but, for all that, the romance is a partial story, an imperfect fragment of the old life, distorting, not so much the Puritan ideal--- which were a little matter---but the spiritual life itself. Its truth, intense, fascinating, terrible as it is, is a half-truth, and the darker half...In the highest sense, it is a false book. It is a chapter in the literature of moral despair, and is perhaps most tolerated as a condemnation of the creed which, through imperfect comprehension, it travesties."

3. James, Henry: Hawthorne, p.110. "The historical coloring is rather weak...nevertheless, the book is full of the moral presence of the race that invented Hester's penance... Puritanism ...is there, not only objectively, as Hawthorne tried to place it there, but subjectively as well. Not, I mean, in his judgment of his characters in any harshness of prejudices, or in the obtrusion of a moral lesson; but in the very quality of his own vision, in the tone of the picture, in a certain coldness and exclusiveness of treatment.

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and sinister to the heart; especially when one generation had bequeathed its religious gloom, and the counterfeit of its religious ardor, to the next; for these characteristics, as was inevitable, assumed the form both of hypocrisy and exaggeration, by being inherited from the example and precept of other human beings, and not from an original and spiritual source. The sons and grandchildren of the first settlers were a race of lower and narrower souls than their progenitors had been. The latter were stern, severe, intolerant, but not superstitious, not even fanatical; and endowed, if any men of that age were, with a far-seeing worldly sagacity. But it was impossible for the succeeding race to grow up, in heaven's freedom, beneath the discipline which their gloomy energy of character had established; nor, it may be, have we even yet thrown off all the unfavorable influences, which, among many good ones, were bequeathed to us by our Puritan forefathers. Let us thank God for having given us such ancestors; and let each succeeding generation thank Him, not less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of ages."¹

It is now clear that Hawthorne was influenced by Puritanism, and reacted from it. The full consequence we shall appreciate at the end of the chapter; meanwhile it is necessary for us to consider a second influence which pressed strongly upon Hawthorne,

1. The Snow-Image, "Main Street", p. 459.

and from which he reacted in a similar manner.

Hawthorne and Transcendentalism

Three events brought Hawthorne under the influence of new ideas; in 1839 he removed from Salem to Boston; in the same year he courted and won an eager transcendental spirit, Sophia Peabody; in 1841 he joined the utopian colony at Brook Farm. For years he had lived cooped in his little room under the eaves at Salem, in an old house "like an owl's nest", for, as he wrote to Longfellow,¹ "mine is about as dismal, and like the owl I seldom venture abroad till after dusk... I have been carried apart from the main current of life... For the last ten years, I have not lived, but only dreamed of living." And now he reached Boston when it was in the throes of the transcendental movement.

I have already described the book-shop and foreign library of Elizabeth Peabody as the center of the new ideas. The Dial was published there, and progressive and radical thinkers gathered to discuss the new age of reform which was hourly coming into existence. Hawthorne here met these blythe prophets and patrons of the new order and, although he was by nature distrustful, slow to believe in new enterprises, he could not fail to be buoyed up, in some measure, by the rising tide. Elizabeth Peabody had done for Hawthorne many a helpful literary service, and she now published for him three volumes of

1. Woodberry, George E.: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 73.

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Published by the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Subscription price, Five Dollars per Annum in Advance. Single Copies, Fifteen Cents.

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 26, 1894. Postpaid at Special Rate of \$3.00 per Annum.

Acceptance for mailing at Special Rate of Postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917.

Postmaster: This publication is entered as Second-Class Matter, May 26, 1894.

Postpaid at Special Rate of Postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917.

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children's stories.¹

The circumstances which led Hawthorne to cast his fortunes with the socialistic experiment at Brook Farm are somewhat obscure. The biographers pass over the matter with a few meagre, unsatisfying details. The life by Julian Hawthorne, with a thousand pages of detail, devotes only three sentences to the purpose.² If I may adopt the manner of the biographers, "the facts seem to be" that Hawthorne had considerable sympathy with the hopes of the reformers. He was probably attracted by the fact that hours of labor were short, so that time could be found for literary labors. It is certain,

1. Elizabeth Peabody was widely read in literature and history, and read the latest French and German books in the original. She was teacher, publisher, lecturer, and is credited with introducing Froebel's kindergarten methods into America. She was a moving spirit in Margaret Fuller's transcendental club, and gave her abundant energies to various movements of reform.

Sophia Peabody, a sister of Elizabeth, was an ardent reader of Emerson, a student of foreign literature, and, in a small way with paintings and sketches, an artist. His long attachment for Miss Peabody led Hawthorne into deeper and deeper sympathy with the new thought.

2. These sentences deserve to be quoted, if only as an instance of the unsatisfactoriness of biographies written by persons who stand too close to their subject. "In 1841, Hawthorne (not much to his regret, evidently) was turned out of office by the Whig administration, and resolved to try what virtue there might be, for him and his future wife, in the experiment of Brook Farm. The subject of this Community has been so exhaustively and exhaustingly canvassed of late, and it seems to be intrinsically so barren of interest and edification, save only for the eminent names that were at first connected with it, that the present writer has pleasure in passing over it without further remark. The chief advantage it brought to Hawthorne was, that it taught him how to plant corn and squashes, and to buy and sell at the produce market; and that it provided him with an invaluable background for his 'Blithedale Romance', written about ten years afterwards." The son then quotes about twenty pages of his father's love letters, letters not differing from a thousand that are written every day of the world.--- Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol.1, page 200.

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from his letters,¹ that he hoped to secure a cottage, where he could, in due season, make a home for his bride. For some such combination of reasons, Hawthorne had no sooner lost his position in the Customs House than he invested a thousand dollars, his entire savings for two years, in "The Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education."

The fragmentary letters in the American Note-Books give us an imperfect, but perhaps sufficient account of the transcendental experience. For several months of the early spring and summer all goes well; the author is in high spirits, like a boy on a vacation. Then gradually arise doubts and petty vexations, and on August 22 he writes to Sophia: "It is extremely doubtful whether Mr. Ripley will succeed. . . . We must form other plans for ourselves; for I can see few or no signs that Providence purposes to give us a home here We must not lean upon this community."² Hawthorne now returns to Salem for a visit, and on September 3 writes the following note. "Really I should judge it to be twenty years since I left Brook Farm; and I take this to be one proof that my life there was an unnatural and unsuitable, and therefore an unreal, one. It already looks like a dream behind me. The real me was never an associate of the community; there has been a spectral appearance there, sounding the horn at daybreak, and milking the cows, and

1. American Note-Books, p. 227. Entry for April 13, 1841.

2. American Note-Books, p. 236.

hoeing potatoes, and raking hay, and toiling in the sun, and doing me the honor to assume my name."¹

This is the most abused quotation in all the criticism of Hawthorne. It is used in practically every biography² as evidence that Hawthorne was never really in sympathy with the Brook Farm movement. But I desire to point out, first, that the passage in the Note-Books is only a fragment of a letter which was (judging by the tone) addressed to Sophia, in which case the sentiment that "the real me" was never at the community might be merely a pleasant way of saying that he longed to be with the person addressed. And, in the second place, this feeling of unreality was always haunting Hawthorne. He said the same thing about his years in England; the "real me" seemed to have been left behind in America.³ Unless the biographers can take firmer ground, the assumption must be that Hawthorne, in the spring of 1841, was pretty thoroughly in sympathy with the new ideas of social reform. A man does not invest his earnings for ^{even two} years in an enterprise with which his "real self" has no sympathy.

The fact was that Hawthorne returned to the community, was

1. p. 237.

2. It is found in Woodberry, p. 110; in Conway, p. 89; in Stearns, p. 145; and implications from it are found in James and in later criticism.

3. Our Old Home, p. 56. "The same sense of illusion still pursues me. There is some mistake in the matter. I have been writing about another man's consular experiences, with which, through some mysterious medium of transmitted ideas, I find myself intimately acquainted, but in which I cannot possibly have had a personal interest. Is it not a dream altogether?"

made a trustee, and remained through the winter. But now the old doubts reasserted themselves, and he began to distrust the ability of the community to achieve a material success, and, more important, began to distrust the principles by which the institution had set about to reform the world.¹ In the spring of 1842 he left Brook Farm permanently. Soon afterward he married Sophia Peabody, and went to live in the Old Manse at Concord.

The impatient couple had for more than a year a struggle with poverty. Hawthorne tried, after a time, to draw out the thousand dollars he had invested at Brook Farm; but it now appeared that he had lost the money, as irrecoverably as he might in any speculation. Emerson told him "to whistle for it", that they were all in debt, more than he.² At the same time there creeps into Hawthorne's

1. A passage in The Blithedale Romance (p.393) best expresses his disillusion. "The peril of our new way of life was not lest we should fail in becoming practical agriculturists, but that we should probably cease to be anything else. While our enterprise lay all in theory, we had pleased ourselves with delectable visions of the spiritualization of labor. It was to be our form of prayer and ceremonial of worship. Each stroke of the hoe was to uncover some aromatic root of wisdom, heretofore hidden from the sun. Pausing in the field, to let the wind exhale the moisture from our foreheads, we were to look upward, and catch glimpses into the far-off soul of truth. In this point of view, matters did not turn out quite so well as we anticipated. It is very true that, sometimes, gazing casually around me, but out of the midst of my toil, I used to discern a richer picturesqueness in the visible scene of earth and sky. There was, at such moments, a novelty, an unwonted aspect, on the face of Nature, as if she had been taken by surprise and seen at unawares, with no opportunity to put off her real look, and assume the mask with which she mysteriously hides herself from mortals. But this was all. The clods of earth, which we so constantly belabored and turned over, were never etheralized into thought. Our thoughts, on the contrary, were fast becoming cloddish."

2. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 1, p.287.

referencesto Emerson and Margaret Fuller a slight acidity. Emerson is "the mystic, stretching his hand out of cloudland in vain search for something real";¹ he is "that everlasting rejecter of all that is, and seeker for he knows not what."²

These are the external facts; the relation, as expressed by his works, of Hawthorne to transcendentalism, is more interesting and more to our purpose. The influence of the new ideas is by no manner of means as strong as that of Puritanism; it is a flavor; it is tentative and occasional; it is sometimes unconscious and vague; but it is there. As early as 1835 Hawthorne wrote in his American Note-Books "Four precepts: To break off customs; to shake off spirits ill-disposed; to meditate on youth; to do nothing against one's genius."³ This is transcendental doctrine of the purest kind. In 1842 Hawthorne wrote: "George Fox's hat impressed me with deep reverence as a relic of perhaps the truest apostle that has appeared on earth for these eighteen hundred years."⁴ This reverence for Fox was characteristic of the new movements in religion; Emerson himself could not have paid a greater tribute to the Quaker religion.

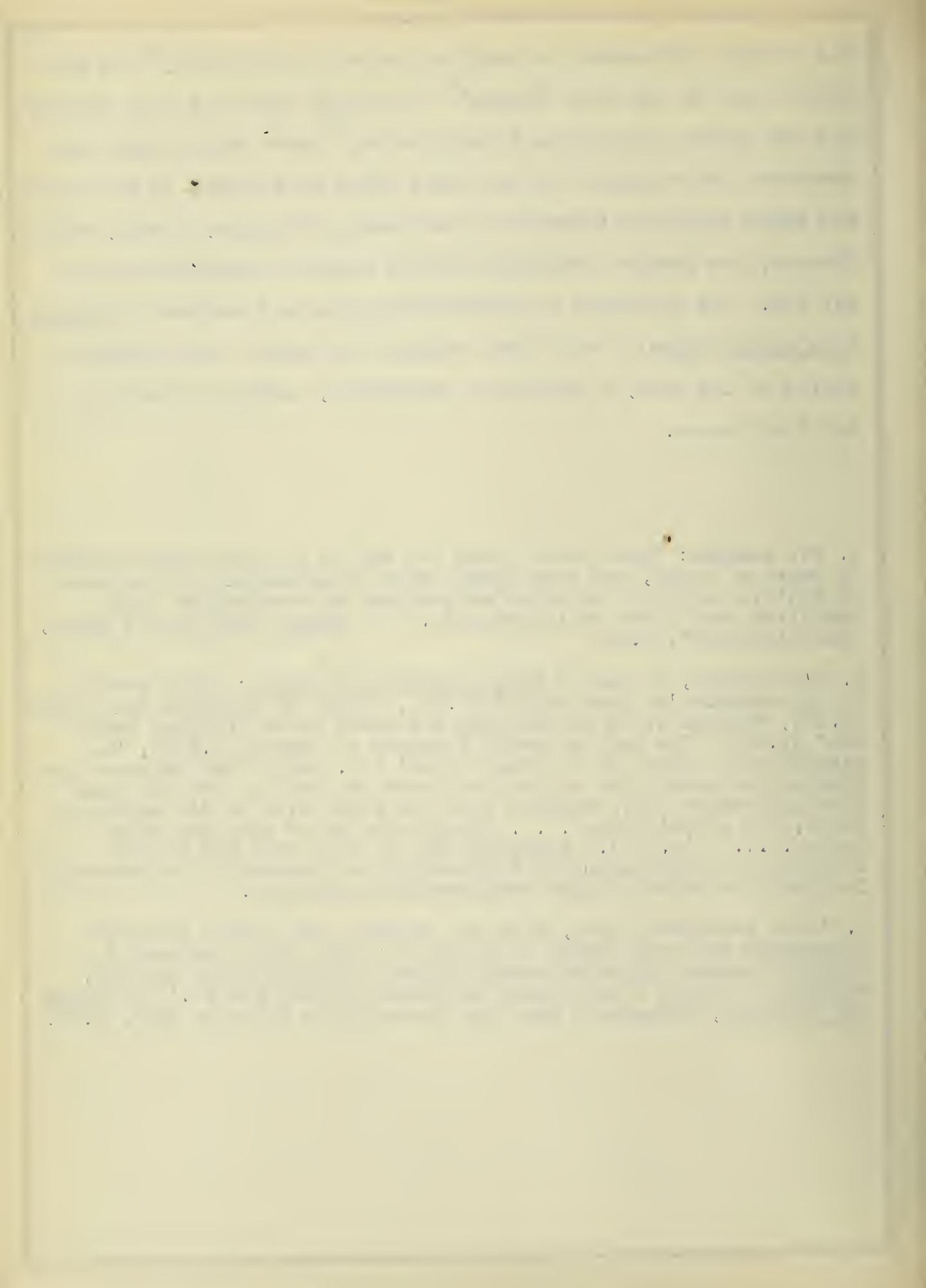
1. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 1, p.291.
2. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 1, p.293.
3. p.28
4. Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 549. The tale "A Virtuoso's Collection" was first published in Boston Miscellany, May, 1842.

His frequent references to truth as native or intuitive,¹ his persistent use of the term "inward"² his belief that he was to develop his own genius in solitude by meditation,³ these things show that Hawthorne had absorbed the new ideas which were afloat in New England, and which impressed themselves upon Lowell, Phillips, Clarke, Curtis, Thoreau, the younger Channing, and the younger intellects of the new age. The influence of transcendentalism is strongest in Mosses from an Old Manse; but in this volume also begins the outward-ebbing of the tide, a decline of enthusiasm, ending in disbelief and disillusion.

1. For example: "Truth often finds its way to the mind close muffled in robes of sleep, and then speaks with uncompromising directness of matters in regard to which we practise an unconscious self-deception during our waking moments." --- Mosses from an Old Manse, "The Birthmark", p.52.

2. For example, I find in Mosses from an Old Manse: "rich scenery of my companion's inner world" (p.33), "shows us glimpses for inward" (p.38), "stared forth wildly from his inner world into the outer one" (p.123), "He has no inward fountain of ideas" (p.449), "a naturalized citizen of my inner world" (p. 495), "How narrow-- how shallow and scanty too -- is the stream of thought that has been flowing from my pen, compared with the broad tide of dim emotions, ideas, and associations . . . through the inner passages of my being . . . " (p. 43). Excessive use of this word may be due in part to the influence of Wordsworth; the interest in Wordsworth is itself an aspect of the transcendental movement.

3. "I am possessed, also, with the thought that I have never yet discovered the real secret of my powers; that there has been a mighty treasure within my reach, a mine of gold beneath my feet, worthless because I have never known how to seek for it." --- Tales and Sketches, "Fragments from the Journal of a Solitary Man", p.27.



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In 1843 appeared The Celestial Railroad,¹ a thoroughly modern transformation of Bunyan's famous allegory. Hawthorne represents himself as a pilgrim faring forth to the Celestial City, under improved auspices which Christian in the older story did not enjoy. The straight and narrow footpath, beset with dangers, is replaced by a railroad; burdens, such as Christian long ago carried on his back, are now safely stowed in a baggage car. For a counselor, instead of the futile Evangelist, the modern Pilgrim has the well-mannered Mr. Smooth-it-away, through whom he learns with pleased astonishment how the enlightened age has made the journey to heaven no more vexatious than a summer tour.

Thus, the Slough of Despond is provided with an elegant bridge, founded on "books of morality; volumes of French philosophy and German rationalism; tracts, sermons, and essays of modern clergymen; extracts from Plato, Confucius, and various Hindoo sages, together with a few ingenious commentaries upon texts of Scripture." The Hill of Difficulty has been pierced through with a tunnel, and the dirt therefrom used to fill the Valley of Humiliation. The other and blacker Valley of the Shadow of Death is now relieved from gloom by lamps of inflammable natural gas, and all its terrors mitigated. Even the lurid cavern which Bunyan, fantastic man,

1. Published in the Democratic Review in May, 1843; and reprinted in Mosses from an Old Manse (1846), p. 218.

regarded as a pit of hell, is now explained as a natural volcanic formation, Tophet having no longer even a metaphorical existence. With ease, then, the new pilgrims sit in their first-class compartment, roll safely past the ancient foes and dangers, chat pleasantly together --- magistrates, politicians, men of wealth and women of fashion --- keeping the subject of religion and all musty prejudices tastefully in the background, saying naught to shock the sensibility even of an infidel, giving fair evidence of the liberality of the age.

A cave at the end of the dark Valley, where in Christian's time dwelt two cruel giants, Pope and Pagan, has a new tenant, a monster, German by birth, called Giant Transcendentalist. But as the train dashes by at great speed, he can do no harm, the vague, mishapen monster, save shout strange words that no one understands.

Vanity Fair is still the great stop-over place, many travelers even contending that it must be the true heaven, there being no other save in the fancy of dreamers. And, indeed, it has many churches, with wise and venerable ministers, among whom are Shallow-deep, This-to-day, That-to-morrow, and Bewilderment, Clog-the-spirit, and Wind-of-doctrine,--- not to mention innumerable lecturers.

Our Pilgrim does not tarry here, but takes the train to press on to the celestial city. With increased wonder he notes how the obstacles of former years have been removed or put to virtuous use. Riding through the Delectable Mountains, he spies in the hillside a rusty iron door, the very one which the shepherds assured Christian was a by-way to hell.

"That was a joke on the part of the shepherds," says Mr. Smooth-it-away, with a smile. "It is neither more nor less than the door of a cavern which they use as a smoke-house for the preparation of mutton hams."

But suddenly, the train having stopped now at the great river, events take a tragic turn. The passengers are herded upon a ferry. They move off from the shore. They note with terror the changed aspect of the guide. They are in the hands of fiends.

The Celestial Railroad is a two-edged satire. It attacks Unitarianism and transcendentalism at one stroke. Of the two, it hits Unitarianism hardest and oftenest. Where it strikes at transcendental views, as in the reference to the giant, and the filling of the slough with Platonic literature, the satire is guarded and lenient. Yet its general drift is unmistakable; the life-long search for God and for celestial happiness, the persistent quest of New England thought for centuries, has now become a summer railway excursion, for pleasure amid luxurious surroundings. Hawthorne's thought reverts to Bunyan, to the slow plodding progress of Christian up the hill of Difficulties, the burdens, the lions, the dragons, the darkness, the temptations that beset the slow path to paradise. He feels the deep haunting consciousness of evil and difficulty that made the Puritan distrust the enthusiasm of the Quaker, the feeling that spiritual gain is far off, to be attained

only by long and weary search.¹

The Celestial Railroad was reprinted in Mosses from an Old Manse, in 1846. The Mosses was Hawthorne's first important book, his earlier productions being Fanshawe (1828), Twice-Told Tales (1837), and two or three slender volumes of stories for children. The time was ripe for Hawthorne's distrust of transcendental hopes to show itself, and it does appear, in Mosses from an Old Manse, in a number of passages other than the poignant satire on the celestial journey.

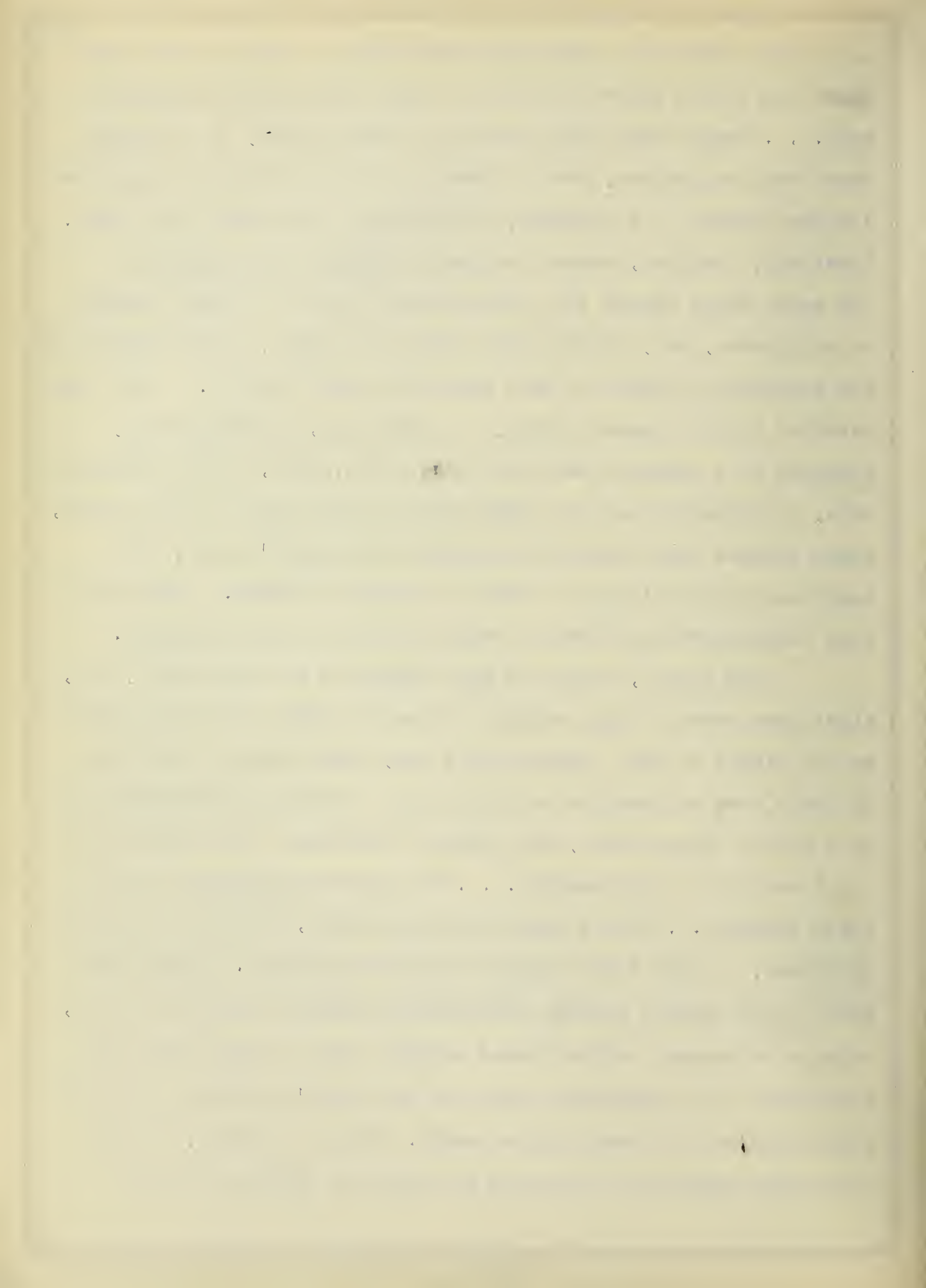
In the opening chapter Hawthorne speaks of the restful spirit of the old manse, a retirement from a world of morbid activity. For he observ^s that he lives in an age of ferment, and even the peace of solitary Concord is broken by the grotesque-minded champ-ions of fantastic ideas.

"These hobgoblins of flesh and blood," for he thus describes the transcendental camp-followers, "were attracted thither by the widespreading influence of a great original thinker, who had his earthly abode at the opposite extremity of our village . . . Young visionaries --- to whom just so much of insight had been imparted

1. This idea is expressed in "The Birthmark", Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 50. A birthmark on the face of a woman who is otherwise beautiful, is symbolic. "It was the fatal flaw of humanity which Nature, in one shape or another, stamps ineffaceably on all her productions, either to imply that they are temporary and finite, or that their perfection must be wrought by toil and pain."

as to make life all a labyrinth around them --- came to seek the clew that should guide them out of their self-involved bewilderment. . . People that had lighted on a new thought, or a thought that they fancied new, came to Emerson, as the finder of a glittering gem hastens to a lapidary, to ascertain its quality and value. Uncertain, troubled, earnest wanderers through the midnight of the moral world beheld this intellectual fire as a beacon burning on a hill-top, and, climbing the difficult ascent, looked forth into the surrounding obscurity more hopefully than hitherto. The light revealed objects unseen before, --- mountains, gleaming lakes, glimpses of a creation among the chaos; but, also, as was unavoidable, it attracted bats and owls and the whole host of night birds, which flapped their dusky wings against the gazer's eyes, and sometimes were mistaken for fowls of angelic feather. Such delusions always hover nigh when a beacon fire of truth is kindled.

"For myself, there had been epochs of my life when I, too, might have asked of this prophet the master word that should solve me the riddle of the universe; but now, being happy, I felt as if there were no question to be put, and therefore admired Emerson as a poet of deep beauty, and austere tenderness, but sought nothing from him as a philosopher. . . The mountain atmosphere of his lofty thought . . in the brains of some people, wrought a singular giddiness, --- new truth being as heady as new wine. Never was a poor little country village infested with such a variety of queer, strangely-dressed, oddly-behaved mortals, most of whom took upon themselves to be important agents of the world's destiny, yet were simply boryes of a very intense water. Such, I imagine, is the invariable character of persons who crowd so closely about an



original thinker as to draw his unuttered breath and thus become imbued with a false originality. This triteness of novelty is enough to make any man of common sense blaspheme at all ideas of less than a century's standing, and pray that the world may be petrified, and rendered immovable in precisely the worst moral and physical state that it ever yet arrived at, rather than be benefited by such schemes of such philosophers."

This reaction, deep and profound in spite of its friendly exemptions, appears in passages scattered throughout the book. The trite novelties of reformers, which might make any man "blaspheme at all ideas of less than a century's standing" possibly led Hawthorne to choose for his book a title which flaunted itself in the face of the changing times: Mosses, from an Old Manse. For he speaks further of the need of rest for the weary and world-worn spirits of his time.

"Were I to adopt a pet idea, as so many people do, and fondle it in my embraces to the exclusion of all others, it would be, that the great want which mankind labors under at this present period is sleep. The world should recline its vast head on the first convenient pillow, and take an age-long nap. It has gone distracted through a morbid activity, and, while preternaturally wide awake, is nevertheless tormented by visions that seem real to it now, but would assume their true aspect and character were all things once set right by an interval of sound repose."

From such passages, and from the subtle tone of many more not so boldly expressed, it is obvious that Hawthorne reacted from transcendentalism, and one's first and superficial impression is that he reacted back into Puritanism. But in truth he reacted

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into a third border region, which was not a world of Puritan shadows or transcendental sunlight, but only Hawthorne-land, a twilight world of art and meditation. Or, to speak more exactly, it was not in Hawthorne's nature to react violently to anything. The man did not have strong philosophic or intellectual convictions, nor did he ever argue; his reaction was a matter of personal feeling, and expressed itself in a profound mood more than in a word or formula. He reacted from what was inhuman and excessive in transcendentalism, just as he had reacted from what was inhuman and excessive in Puritanism.¹ He reacted from both, but he could not escape either. Puritanism was born in him and reinforced by years in ancient Salem; transcendentalism grew in him during the years in Boston and Concord, and was secured by ties of marriage and friendship.

Of these two influences, the Puritan influence was the greater. Yet there is evolving in Hawthorne's work something more profound than Puritanism or transcendentalism, more deep-flowing than

1. Hawthorne's attempts to reach compromise are frequent. In the opening chapter of Mosses from an Old Manse (p.29) he expresses equal dislike for the theological writings of the Puritan past, and the tracts and pamphlets of his liberal (particularly Unitarian) contemporaries. "In a physical point of view there was much the same difference as between a feather and a lump of lead; but, intellectually regarded, the specific gravity of old and new was about on a par. . . There appeared no hope of either mounting to the better world on a Gothic staircase of ancient folies, or of flying thither on the wings of a modern tract."

Later in the volume (p.107, the opening page of "Rappaccini's Daughter") he says that a certain writer (obviously himself) "seems to occupy an unfortunate position between the Transcendentalists . . . and the great body of pen-and-ink men who address the intellect and sympathies of the multitude."

any school or sect; it is the genius of the New England mind itself. We have so long used the terms Puritanism and transcendentalism to secure a contrast, that we forget that the contrast is less deep and essential than the resemblance. We must revert to our earlier formula, that all New England religious life, from the time of Cotton Mather to the day of Emerson, represents a continuous development, a persistent search for God and the truths of intuition. These underlying forces, these common factors in old and late New England life, fascinated Hawthorne, and searching through his works, and placing side by side extracts from his narratives, we shall find that he tells, in his symbolic way, the epic of the long New England search for God.

The Great Quest

In one of the sketches in Mosses from an Old Manse,¹ Hawthorne expresses in brief compass an idea which he developed and respected countless times throughout his work. He is referring to an Indian legend which he has known and thought upon since boyhood, the old poetical idea of the Great Carbuncle of the White Mountains. "The belief was communicated to the English settlers, and is hardly yet extinct, that a gem, of such immense size as to be seen shining miles away, hangs from a rock over a clear, deep lake, high up among the hills. They who had once beheld its

1. p. 483. "The Notch of the White Mountains."

splendor were enthralled with an unutterable yearning to possess it. But a spirit guarded that inestimable jewel, and bewildered the adventurer with a dark mist from the enchanted lake. Thus life was worn away in the vain search for an unearthly treasure, till at length the deluded one went up the mountain, still sanguine as in youth, but returned no more." And Hawthorne adds one significant sentence: "On this theme methinks I could frame a tale with a deep moral."

Hawthorne not only could, but did write such a story; and not one, but many. I have here set forth a long list of tales whose central theme is some great hope or quest. At the end of the account I shall offer an explanation of the meaning of this persistent theme. In its general outline the conclusion which I shall reach is this: that in his earliest years Hawthorne wrote on the theme of the hopeful quest as a common literary property which attracted his romantic taste (in the same spirit which induced Longfellow to write Excelsior and Poe to write Eldorado); that later he began to associate the theme of the lifelong quest with transcendentalism and kindred manifestations of the restless spirit of his day; that finally he widened the scope of this symbolism to include the stern, relentless searching of the Puritan soul throughout three centuries of New England life. And further, that whereas in the beginning Hawthorne treats his theme with sympathy and zeal, at last he comes to regard this endless pursuit of some unknown great good with satire and with bitterness, or else looks on it sadly from afar as the inevitable course of human nature, fated never to achieve the longed-for end. Such is, in outline, the theme of the great quest. The complexities and

corollaries we shall postpone until we have passed in review the stories themselves.

The Twice-Told Tales (first series 1837, second series 1842) is a collection of stories most of which were written between 1835 and 1840, and printed at intervals in various newspapers and magazines. Six of the stories are of the quest or earnest seeker type. The first of these is "The Great Carbuncle, A Mystery of the White Mountains".¹ The theme is, that eight persons who have been wandering in the mountains in search for the Great Carbuncle, meet in a shelter for the night. Seven types of human nature are represented; a wild wilderness-faring man called the Seeker, a scientist who dabbled in alchemy, a merchant, a cynic, a poet, an aristocratic egotist, and a pair of young lovers. Each character describes his reason for seeking the great jewel.

"The Great Carbuncle!" sneers the cynic, "why, you blockhead, there is no such thing in the rerum natura. I have come three thousand miles, and am resolved to set my foot on every peak of these mountains, and poke my head ~~into~~ every chasm, for the sole purpose of demonstrating to the satisfaction of any man one whit less an ass than thy self that the Great Carbuncle is all a humbug!"

The author interposes a comment: "Vain and foolish were the motives that had brought most of the adventurers to the Crystal Hills; but none so vain, so foolish and so impious too, as that of

1. First printed in the Token, 1837. The author's footnote reads: "The Indian tradition, on which this somewhat extravagant tale is founded, is both too wild and too beautiful to be adequately wrought up in prose. Sullivan, in his History of Maine, written since the Revolution, remarks, that even then the existence of the Great Carbuncle was not discredited."

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the scoffer."

In the early dawn, through mists and vapors, all begin the climb up the mountain slopes. At last the cynic and the lovers reach the enchanted lake. Far off through the clouds they see, gleaming from the brow of a cliff, the Great Carbuncle. Below, appears the figure of a man, the face turned upward, the arms extended as in climbing, but immovable. It is the Seeker, who perished, either from the joy of the discovery, or because the great light of the jewel meant death. The latter seemed to be the truth, for the cynic, induced for once to remove his spectacles, is struck blind, and even the lovers are forced to abandon their quest with no more than a distant glimpse of the Great Carbuncle.

The second story of the quest type is "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment", or, as it was entitled on its first publication,¹ "The Fountain of Youth". The theme is, that a doctor has got possession of the elixir of youth, and tries its effect upon four old persons who desire nothing as much as to regain youth --- a merchant, a soldier, ~~and~~ a ruined politician, and a widow with a past. Forthwith all become young, and fall to dancing, and fight, and otherwise exhibit a want of sense. The effect wears off, and the four decline into sober age again, whereupon the wise doctor concludes that age has its recompense, and the quest for youth is not to be encouraged.

"The Ambitious Guest"² records the brief history of a hero of the Excelsior type, ^a young man ^{who} takes refuge for the night in a

1. In the Salem Gazette, 1837. This is the story which was plagiarized or "borrowed" by the French romancer Dumas.

2. Twice-Told Tales, p.364. First printed in the New England Magazine, 1835.

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mountaineer's cottage. The youth is fired with high and vague ambition. Yearning desire had been transformed to hope, and hope, long cherished, has become like certainty, that he is gifted, and destined to accomplish some great service for posterity. But an avalanche descends and carries away the mountaineer, his wife, his comely daughter, and the ambitious guest.

"Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure"¹ is an account of a crotchety old man who, following a hint left by his ancestors, spends years tearing his house down to find a treasure. He tears away the inside of the house, but leaves the outside intact like a shell, or like the rind of a cheese of which a mouse has nibbled the inside away. In this respect it is like the old man himself, whose body was miserable, while "his aspiring soul enjoyed the sunshine of a bright futurity". At length he discovers, beside his very hearth stone, a chest of treasure --- provincial bills of credit and paper money, old symbols of value which in a past age would purchase a city, but which are now of no more worth than rags.

"The Lily's Quest"² narrates the search of two lovers for a place whereon to build a temple of happiness. No sooner have they chosen a site than they are overtaken by an old man (typifying Sorrow). "Not here," he bids them have caution. "Here, long ago, other mortals built their Temple of Happiness. Seek another site for yours!" --- "What!" exclaims the woman, "Have any ever planned

1. Twice-Told Tales, p. 428. First printed in the Token, 1838.

2. Twice-Told Tales, p. 495. First printed in the Southern Rose, 1839.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical analysis performed.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study. It includes a series of tables and graphs that illustrate the findings of the research. The data shows a clear trend of increasing activity over time.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. It suggests that the results have significant implications for the field of study and may lead to further research in this area.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a conclusion and a summary of the key findings. It reiterates the importance of accurate record-keeping and the need for ongoing research in this field.

6. The sixth part of the document includes a list of references and a bibliography. It cites various sources that have been consulted during the research process.

7. The seventh part of the document contains a list of appendices and supplementary materials. These include additional data, charts, and documents that provide further detail on the study.

8. The eighth part of the document includes a list of figures and tables. These are numbered and labeled to correspond with the text and provide a visual representation of the data.

9. The ninth part of the document contains a list of footnotes and endnotes. These provide additional information and clarification on specific points mentioned in the text.

10. The tenth part of the document includes a list of acknowledgments and a thank you note. It expresses appreciation to the individuals and organizations that have supported the research.

such a Temple save ourselves?" --- "Poor child," answered her gloomy kinsman; "In one shape or other, every mortal has dreamed your dream." --- They continue their search many years, "young Pilgrims on that quest which millions --- which every child of earth --- has tried in turn." The old man glides behind them, and for every spot that looked fair in their eyes, he has some legend of human wrong or suffering, so sad that no one could ever after connect the idea of joy with the place where it happened. At last, in the weary search, the woman dies. And hereupon Sorrow allows the man to build his temple, since (the moral being obvious) lasting happiness is founded only upon the grave.

"The Threefold Destiny"¹ records a triple quest. A man returns to his native village, after years of wandering in vain. From youth upward he had felt himself marked for a high destiny. He was to discover a perfect maiden, to dig and find a treasure, and to attain influence or sway over his fellow men. The maid was to be recognized by a jewel, the treasure was to be indicated by a hand pointing downward, and the high office was to be brought him by three venerable men. The youth, or as he is now, the man in middle age, returns to his mother's home. One day three old selectmen seek him out, and tender him the village school, he being cultivated by foreign travel, and "certain vagaries and fantasies" of youth being long ago corrected. Moreover, he sees carved on a tree a hand pointing to the ground. He meets the girl he knew long ago, and finds her wearing a token he had given her. At once all his dreams are realized. To find the mysterious treasure, he

1. Twice-Told Tales, p.527. First printed in the American Monthly Magazine, 1838.

CHAPTER I. THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

IN THE YEAR 1492, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, AN ITALIAN, WAS SENT BY THE KING OF SPAIN TO DISCOVER A WESTERN ROUTE TO THE INDIES.

HE SAILLED FROM PALERMO, IN SICILY, ON THE 3RD OF SEPTEMBER, AND AFTER A LONG AND DANGEROUS VOYAGE, HE DISCOVERED THE ISLAND OF CUBA ON THE 27TH OF SEPTEMBER.

HE THEN SAILLED ON TO THE MAINLAND, AND DISCOVERED THE RIVER OF ORINOCO, WHICH HE TOOK FOR THE GREAT RIVER OF THE INDIES.

HE REMAINED IN THE WATERS OF THE ORINOCO FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, AND THEN SAILLED BACK TO SPAIN, WHERE HE ARRIVED ON THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1493.

HE BROUGHT BACK WITH HIM SEVERAL INDIANS, WHO WERE SHOWN TO THE KING AND QUEEN.

THEY WERE SO STRUCK BY THE NEW DISCOVERY, THAT THEY DECIDED TO SEND ANOTHER VOYAGER TO EXPLORATE THE NEW LAND.

HE WAS CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, WHO WAS SENT BY THE KING AND QUEEN ON THE 3RD OF MAY, 1493.

HE SAILLED WITH THREE SHIPS, AND AFTER A LONG VOYAGE, HE DISCOVERED THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA ON THE 12TH OF DECEMBER.

HE REMAINED THERE FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, AND THEN SAILLED BACK TO SPAIN, WHERE HE ARRIVED ON THE 15TH OF FEBRUARY, 1494.

HE BROUGHT BACK WITH HIM SEVERAL INDIANS, WHO WERE SHOWN TO THE KING AND QUEEN.

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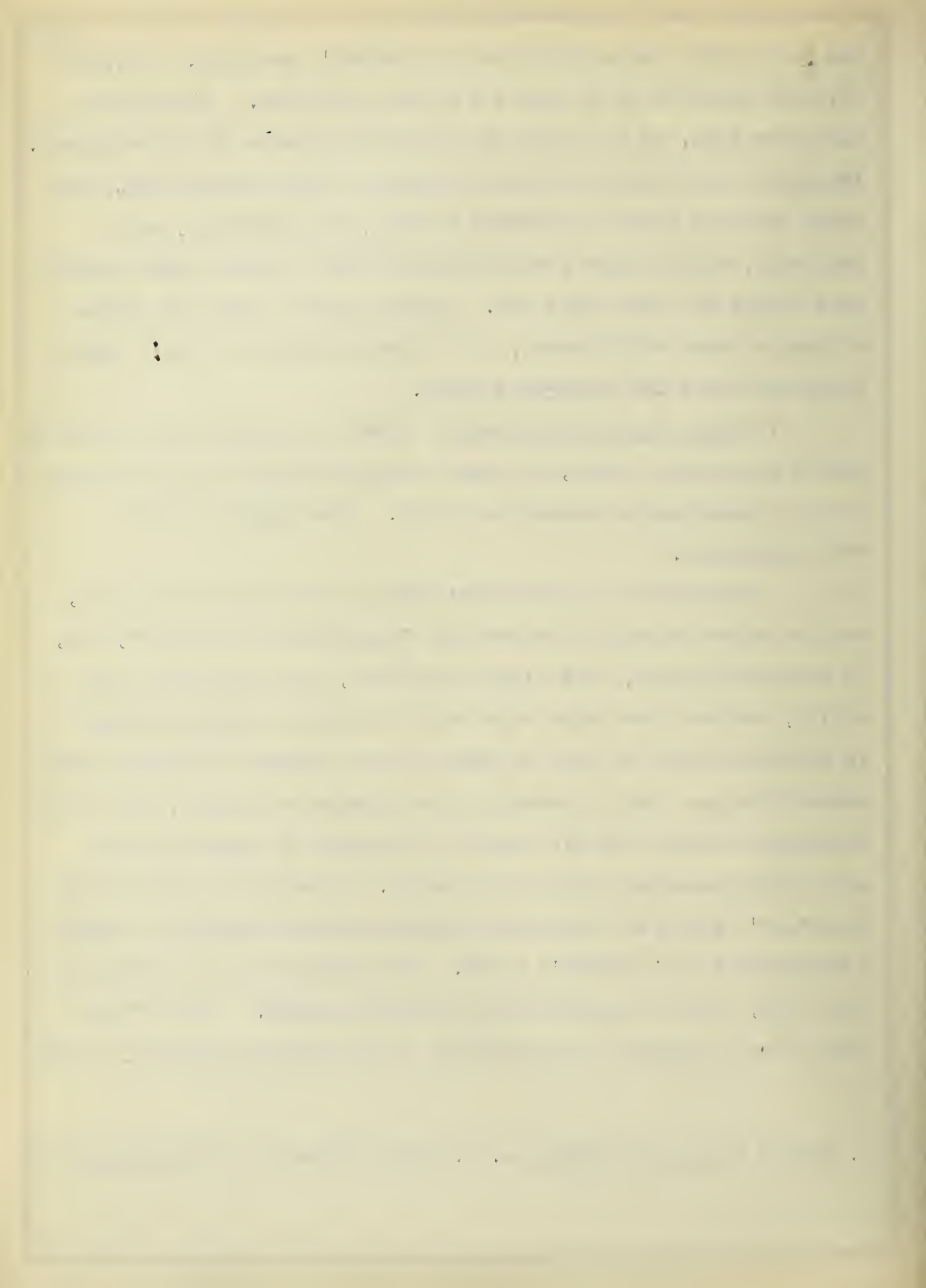
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has but to till the earth around his mother's dwelling. Instead of ^{wielding} ~~a~~ regal power he is to rule the village children. Instead of visionary maid, he is to wed the faithful playmate of his childhood. "Would all who cherish such wild wishes but look around them, they would oftenest find their sphere of duty, of prosperity, and happiness, within those precincts and in that station where Providence itself has cast their lot. Happy they who read the riddle without a weary world search, or a lifetime spent in vain!" This story concludes the Twice-Told Tales.

In Mosses from an Old Manse (1846) the hopeful quest takes a deeper philosophic range, and many passages remind one irresistably of the transcendental search for truth. The opening tale is "The Birthmark".¹

A scientist has penetrated many of the secrets of nature, and has almost attained the power of "spiritualizing matter", for, in those early days, "the higher intellect, the imagination, the spirit, and even the heart might all find their congenial aliment in pursuits which, as some of their ardent votaries believed, would ascend from one step of powerful intelligence to another, until the philosopher should lay his hand on the secret of creative force and perhaps make new worlds for himself." The crucial test of the scientist's power with experiment comes when he attempts to remove a birthmark from his wife's cheek. The birthmark has the shape of a tiny hand, and its significance is plainly stated. It is "the fatal flaw of humanity which Nature, in one shape or another, stamps

1. Mosses from an Old Manse, p.47. First printed in the Pioneer, 1843.



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ineffaceably on all her productions, either to imply that they are temporary and finite, or that their perfection must be wrought by toil and pain." The crimson hand expresses "the ineludible gripe in which mortality clutches the highest and purest of earthly mould, degrading them into kindred with the lowest, and even with the very brutes, like whom their visible frames return to dust."

The wife thinks that the experiment to remove the birthmark is one of great danger, but the scientist (with some of the same assurance of Mr. Smooth-it-away in The Celestial Railroad) is convinced of its "perfect practicability", rejoices, in fact, that his wife has the one imperfection, for the great pleasure that will come with removing it. The woman is for a long time kept in aesthetic retirement, in perfumed chambers with tapestry walls and lights of unnatural radiance.

And here for the first time Hawthorne introduces an idea which recurs throughout the later versions of the quest stories. The husband, having given his wife drugs, sits by her bedside and records with scientific minuteness the progress of the experiment. Not the minutest symptom escapes him. "A heightened flush of the cheek, a slight irregularity of breath, a quiver of the eyelid, a hardly perceptible tremor through the the frame" --- such details he writes down in his folio volume. The birthmark now fades and disappears, but the woman is dying, and leaves the wise experimenter with a gentle reproach: "You have aimed loftily; you have done nobly. Do not repent that with so high and pure a feeling you have rejected the best the earth could offer." Such failure dooms those who, in this dim sphere of half development, demand the completeness of a higher state.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also outlines the methodology used in the study and the results obtained. The second part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the conclusions drawn from the research. It also outlines the limitations of the study and the areas for further research. The third part of the paper discusses the significance of the study and the contributions it has made to the field of research. It also outlines the practical applications of the study and the policy implications of the research. The fourth part of the paper discusses the future of the study and the areas for further research. It also outlines the challenges faced by the study and the opportunities for future research. The fifth part of the paper discusses the conclusion of the study and the final thoughts of the researcher. It also outlines the key findings of the study and the overall message of the research.

"Rappaccini's Daughter" carries further the theme of the cold-hearted, analytic discoverer of truth. A learned doctor distills medicines from plants in an effort to discover the creative essence, and look into the inmost principle of life. On human beings he experiments with poisons; he cares more for science than for mankind. His patients are interesting only as subjects for experiment. He sacrifices the life of two daughters --- and would as willingly sacrifice his own --- to contribute a grain to the accumulated heap of knowledge.

"The Hall of Fantasy" represents the gathering-place of dreamers; poets, merchants, inventors, reformers; all men whose pursuit transcended the actual. "It would be endless to describe the herd of real or self-styled reformers that peopled this place of refuge. They were the representatives of an unquiet period, when mankind is seeking to cast off the whole tissue of ancient custom like a tattered garment. Many of them had got possession of some crystal fragment of truth, the brightness of which so dazzled them that they could see nothing else in the wide universe. Here were men whose faith embodied itself in the form of a potato; and others whose long beards had a deep spiritual significance. Here was the abolitionist, brandishing his one idea like an iron flail. In a word, here were a thousand shapes of good and evil, faith and infidelity, wisdom and nonsense --- a most incongruous throng."

1. Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 107. First printed in the Democratic Review, 1844.

2. Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 196. First printed in the Pioneer, 1843. Certain references to Alcott, and other persons, were omitted when the story appeared in book form.

Yet, the author quickly adds, one cannot resist having a certain sympathy for these theorists, even in their folly. "Far down beyond the fathom of the intellect the soul acknowledges that all these varying and conflicting developments of humanity were united in one sentiment.¹ Be the individual theory as wild as fancy could make it, still the wiser spirit would recognize the struggle of the race after a better and purer life than had yet been realized on earth. My faith revived even while I rejected all their schemes. . . In the enthusiasm of such thoughts I gazed through one of the pictured windows, and, behold! the whole external world was tinged with the dimly glorious aspect that is peculiar to the Hall of Fantasy, insomuch that it seemed practicable at that very instant to realize some plan for the perfection of mankind. But, alas! if reformers would understand the sphere in which their lot is cast they must cease to look through colored windows. Yet they not only use this medium, but mistake it for the whitest sunshine.

" 'Come,' said I to my friend, starting from a deep reverie, 'let us hasten hence or I shall be tempted to make a theory, after which there is little hope of any man.' "

After a few more comments on vegetable diet and magnetic sleep, comments which further identify the reformers with movements of Hawthorne's day, the sketch closes. It is immediately followed by "The Celestial Railroad", the modernized version of Bunyan's account of the endless quest.

1. Hawthorne sees "far down beyond the fathom of the intellect" a family resemblance in all these wild experiments. His idea is somewhat like the one I am to offer at the end of this chapter--the presence, in all the stories of the great quest, of a deep and strong quality of the New England mind.

35

"The Artist of the Beautiful"¹ recounts the years-long experimentation of a watch-maker who desires to "spiritualize machinery", and to produce ideal beauty which will excel that of nature. He succeeds in making a most beautiful butterfly, which, though mechanical, is sensitive to spiritual influences. On the finger of the woman the watch-maker once loved, the butterfly is almost joyously alive. But a babe crushes it at one grasp of his tiny hand. "As for Owen Warland, he looked placidly at what seemed the ruin of his life's labor, and which was yet no ruin. He had caught a far other butterfly than this. When the artist rose high enough to achieve the beautiful, the symbol by which he had made it perceptible to mortal senses became of little value in his eyes while his spirit yet possessed itself in the enjoyment of the reality."

"A Virtuoso's Collection"² introduces the Wandering Jew. This restless world-wanderer is represented as showing a number of objects (all fabulous or fictional) ^{which} ~~have~~ been the theme of adventures in all ages. The Great Carbuncle is one of these. "I gazed with no little interest on this mighty gem, which it had been one of the wild projects of my youth to discover. Possibly it might have looked brighter to me in those days than now." The philosopher's stone and the elixir of life are other familiar prize of age-long pursuit. For none of these has the Jew any pride of possession. He is without emotion of any kind, for his soul is dead within him.--- This sketch concludes the Mosses from an Old Manse.

1. Mosses from an Old Manse, p.504. First printed in the Democratic Review, 1844.

2. Mosses from an Old Manse, p.537. First printed in the Boston Miscellany, 1842.

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"The Wonder Book", published in 1851, is a series of six rather long tales repeated from classical mythology. Hawthorne here again exhibits a special fondness for the quest theme, for the fact is that four of the six narratives are of this familiar type; and moreover, the long-continuance and significance of the quest itself is emphasized by Hawthorne more than in the original stories.

In "The Gorgon's Head", the story of Perseus, a great amount of space is devoted to the preparations of the hero, and his finding his way to the main adventure; and a few pages suffice to describe the actual encounter with the frightful Gorgon. "The Paradise of Children" is the attractive new title for the old story of Pandora. "The Three Golden Apples" recounts the long quest of Hercules for the apples of the far-off garden of the Hesperides. "The Chimaera" traces the long search of Bellerophon for the Fountain of Pirene and for the aerial Pegasus.

The Tanglewood Tales, published in 1853, is a second series of six classical stories, of which four, at least, are of the quest type. In "The Minotaur" the youthful Theseus sets forth on his adventures. "The Dragon's Teeth" represents the long search of Telephassa and her sons for the lost Europa. "Circe's Palace" is an incident in the wanderings of Ulysses. "The Pomegranate Seeds" treats the seeking of Proserpina by her mother, Ceres. "The Golden Fleece" records the youthful quest of Jason.

The Snow-Image, and other Twice-Told Tales, published in 1851, furnishes three examples of the lifelong quest. "The Great Stone Face,"¹ recounts the successively defeated hope for the ful-

1. The Snow-Image, p. 413. First printed in the National Era (Washington), 1850.

filment of a prophecy. Ernest grows from boy to aged man, in momentary expectation that a great hero will appear in his native valley, bearing in his features a likeness to a benignant face upon the mountain profile. A merchant, a soldier, a statesman rise in turn to fame, and awaken false hopes that the prophecy is fulfilled. In a dramatic moment a poet discovers that Ernest, who is nearing the end of his simple and honest life, himself has the features of the great stone face. But Ernest cannot think this simple fact to be the truth, and he continues the quest.

"The man of Adamant"¹ treats of "old times of religious gloom and intolerance". Richard Digby, narrowest of a stern brotherhood, seeks heaven by a creed that is no man's else, he being entrusted with divine truth and other mortals doomed. He withdraws from human society, and lives in the forest, with gun and Bible. His den is a gloomy cave, where waters drip from the roof, and encrust every object with stone. Here Digby scowls forth upon the world, talks to himself, reads his Bible (in the dim twilight) to himself, and prays to himself. Here he is visited by the spirit of a kindly woman (typifying pure Religion). He angrily scorns her appeal, and dies seated in his dripping cavern. Years later a farmer's children are terrified to find him turned to stone, "in the attitude of repelling the whole race of mortals, --- not from heaven, --- but from the horrible loneliness of his dark, cold sepulchre."

1. The Snow-Image, p. 564. First printed in the Token, 1837.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's history and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's history and development.

The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's economy and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's economy and development.

The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's society and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's society and development.

The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's politics and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's politics and development.

The fifth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's culture and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's culture and development.

The sixth part of the report deals with the environmental situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's environment and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's environment and development.

The seventh part of the report deals with the international situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's international relations and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's international relations and development.

The eighth part of the report deals with the future of the country. It is a very interesting and informative study of the country's future and development. The author has done a great deal of research and has gathered a wealth of material. The report is well written and is a valuable contribution to the study of the country's future and development.

"Ethan Brand: A Chapter from an Abortive Romance" represents a Puritan, rather than a transcendental quest. As Bartram the lime-burner sits in the twilight, watching the kiln, Ethan Brand returns to his old home. For eighteen years Brand has wandered over the earth, in his solitary, meditative fashion, searching for the Unpardonable Sin, the ~~one~~ only crime for which heaven can afford no pardon. He has found the sin at last in his own heart.

"I have looked," he says, "into many a human heart that was seven times hotter with sinful passions than yonder furnace is with fire. But I found not there what I sought." --- "What is the Unpardonable Sin?" asks the lime-burner. --- "It is a sin that grew within my own breast . . . The sin of an intellect that triumphed over the sense of brotherhood with man and reverence for God and sacrificed everything to its own mighty claims!"

The villagers gather round curiously to see the man who has been about the world on such a strange mission. An old "German Jew" traveling with a diorama on his back, stops with the gathered throng. The mysterious showman is (one surmises) the Wandering Jew, and he has some sort of secret understanding with Brand, as if the two had met before in foreign lands. That the Jew's identity may not be too easily guessed, the author provides an interlude.

"The Jew's exhibition had scarcely concluded, when a great, elderly dog --- who seemed to be his own master, as no person in

1. The Snow-Image, p. 477. First printed under the heading "Ethan Brand; or The Unpardonable Sin" in the Dollar Magazine, 1851. The article was originally contributed to "Aesthetic Papers", in 1848, but Miss Peabody thought it too lurid. Julian Hawthorne supplies this information in his Life of Hawthorne, Vol. 2, p. 330.

the company laid claim to him --- saw fit to render himself the object of public notice. Hitherto, he had shown himself a very quiet, well-disposed old dog, going round from one to another, and, by way of being sociable, offering his rough head to be patted by any kindly hand that would take so much trouble. But now, all of a sudden, this grave and reverend quadruped, of his own mere motion, and without the slightest suggestion from anybody else, began to run around after his tail, which, to heighten the absurdity of the proceeding, was a great deal shorter than it should have been. Never was seen such headlong eagerness in pursuit of an object that could not possibly be attained; never was heard such a tremendous outbreak of growling, snarling, barking, and snapping, --- as if one end of the ridiculous brute's body were at deadly enmity with the other. Faster and faster, round about went the cur; and faster and still faster fled the unapproachable brevity of his tail; and louder and fiercer grew his yells of rage and animosity; until, utterly exhausted, and as far from the goal as ever, the foolish old dog ceased his performance as suddenly as he had begun it.¹"

1. This antic of the dog had been recorded in the American Note-Books, (p. 180) thirteen years before. In the earlier account Hawthorne intended no symbolism. (Henry James cites this earlier account as an instance of the slight and trivial nature of Hawthorne's American Note-Books: "He devotes a page to a description of a dog whom he saw running around after its tail".) In fact, in the earlier version, the tail, being somewhat longer, is finally achieved by the dog. Within the thirteen years between these two appearances of the dog, between the Twice-Told Tales, and The Snow-Image, Hawthorne had ceased to write sympathetic sketches about The Great Carbuncle. He now commonly speaks of the endless quest as not only vain, but ending in bitterness or futility.

Ethan Brand, as if perceiving some remote analogy between his own situation and that of the self-pursuing cur, breaks into a frightful laugh. The villagers now withdraw, and Brand hovers over the open pit that is full of burning marble. He review^s his past. "He remembered with what tenderness, with what love and sympathy for mankind, and what pity for human guilt and woe, he had first begun to contemplate those ideas which afterwards became the inspira^{tion} of his life; with what reverence he had then looked in the heart of man, viewing it as a temple originally divine, and however desecrated, still to be held sacred by a brother; with what awful fear he had deprecated the success of his pursuit, and prayed that the Unpardonable Sin might never be revealed to him. The^e ensued that vast intellectual development, which, in its progress, disturbed the counterpoise between his mind and his heart. The Idea that possessed his life had operated as a means of education; it had gone on cultivating his powers to the highest point of which they were susceptible; it had raised him from the level of an unlettered laborer to stand on a star-lit eminence, whither the philosophers of the earth, laden with the lore of universities, might vainly strive to clamber after him. So much for the intellect! But where was the heart? That, indeed, had withered, --- had contracted, --- had hardened, --- had perished! . . . He was now a cold observer, looking on mankind as the subject of his experiment." Brand recalls particularly a young girl whom he "had made the subject of a psychological experiment, and wasted, absorbed, and perhaps annihilated her soul, in the process". . .

In the morning Bartram comes forth and looks into the burning kiln. He sees a human skeleton, and within the ribs something that appears to be stone, in the shape of a human heart.

20

It may be observed that there are three or four separate stages in the history of Ethan Brand. He begins life as a simple and loving man, desiring to do good for his fellows. In thinking upon the need for improving man's condition, he hits upon certain ideas which now become the center of his existence. In carrying out these ideas he attains a vast intellectual development which ruins the counterpoise of head and heart. Finally, he becomes a cold experimenter, an unfeeling fiend. He becomes a fiend at the moment when the moral nature fails to keep pace with his intellectual development.

We now arrive at three half-finished romances, which Hawthorne worked upon during the closing years of his life. Septimius Felton: or, The Elixir of Life¹ fills more than two hundred printed pages, and is, indeed, complete at the beginning and end. Numerous adjustments are lacking to indicate turning points in the plot, but the drift of the narrative is obvious. Septimius is a New England youth with a slight strain of Indian blood, and with a very great element of Puritan character, "a disposition to meditate on things hidden", "a turn for meditative inquiry".² He walks with "head bent down, brooding, brooding, his eyes fixed on some chip, some stone, some common plant, any commonest thing, as if it were the clue and index to some mystery. If by chance, startled out of these meditations, he lifts his eyes, there appears in his face "a kind of perplexity, a dissatisfied, foiled look . . . as if of his

1. First printed in the Atlantic Monthly, 1872.

2. p. 237.

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speculations he found no end". The object of this persistent young seeker is to escape death and live forever. The fact that he has killed a man in a duel introduces a complication of moral issues.

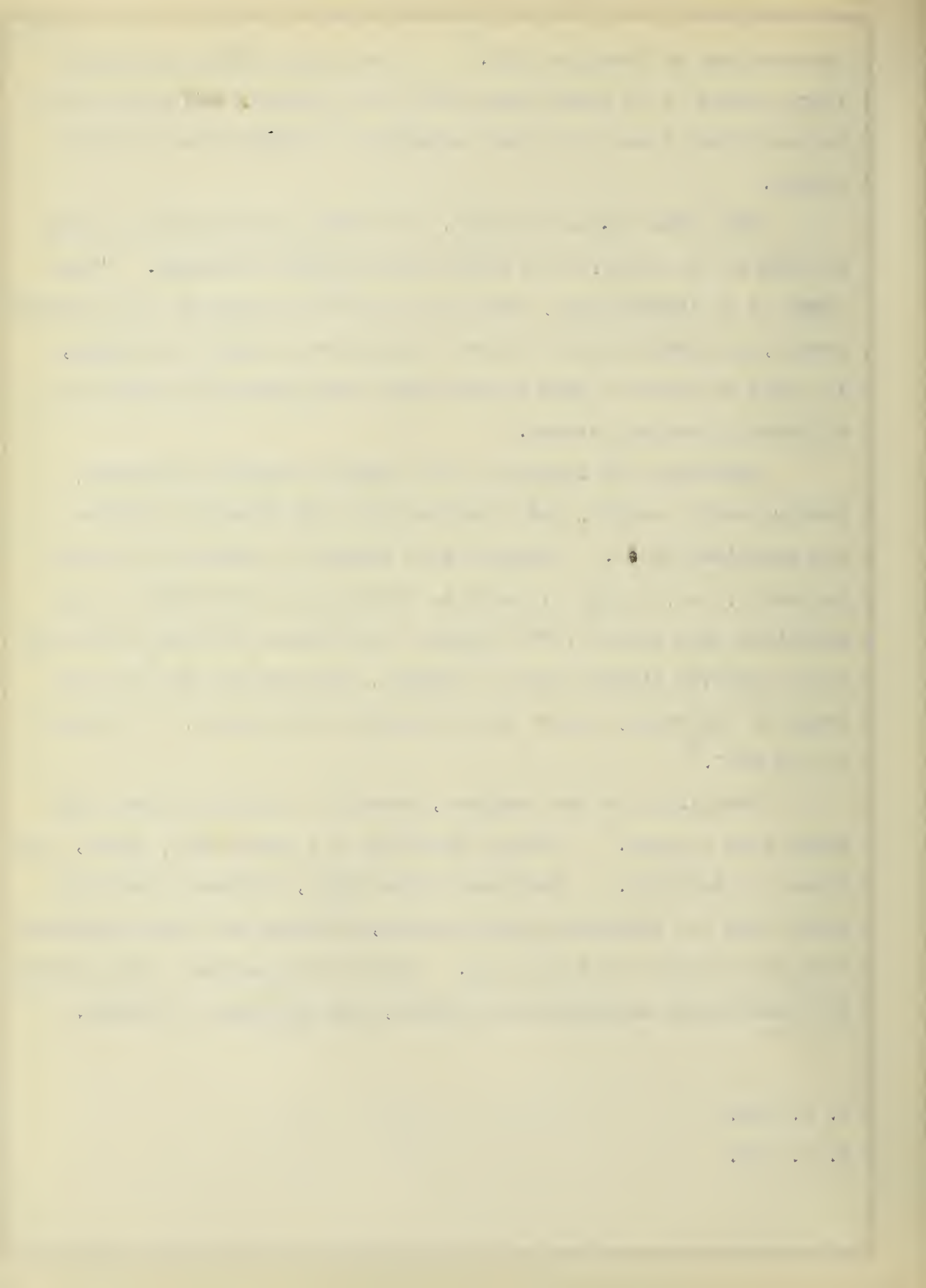
The author takes occasion, as he does so frequently in the prelude of his tales, to disclaim any attempt at realism. "Our story is an internal one, dealing as little as possible with outward events, and taking hold of these only where it cannot be helped, in order by means of them to delineate the history of a mind bewildered by certain errors."

Septimius now indulges in an orgy of scholarly research, reading musty records, and experimenting with chemical formulas and medicinal herbs. His aged aunt becomes a subject of his experiments, for, though he would as readily try the effect of new medicines upon himself, "by trying it on others, the man of science still reserves himself for new efforts, and does not put all the hopes of the world, so far as involved in his success, on one cast of the die".²

The elixir is now complete, save for a certain flower that grows from a grave. Through the help of a young girl, Sibyl, this flower is supplied. Septimius loves Sibyl, proposes that they shall take the immortal drink together, and plans the long adventures they shall seek from age to age. Sibyl then announces that through her cunning, the experiment has failed, and the drink is poison.

1. p. 232.

2. p. 362.



But she now really loves Septimius, repents her treachery and drinks the elixir. "Farewell! Dost thou mean still to seek for thy liquor of immortality? --- oh, ah! It was a good jest. We will laugh at it when we meet in the other world." Sibyl is dying. "And here she lay among his broken hopes, now shattered as completely as the goblet which held his draught, and as incapable of being formed again."

1

"Doctor Grinshawe's Secret", as pieced together by the editors, fills more than three hundred pages. An old doctor, living in New England, cares for two children, whose origin is enveloped in mystery. He nurses for years a scheme of revenge, a scheme which involves securing for the children certain property and family position in England. Incidentally, he compounds strange medicines, and endeavors to create some kind of elixir from spiders' webs. The young boy leaves the charge of the grim doctor to seek his relatives in England, and they in turn have been long seeking him. A key, dug from a grave in America, opens a coffer hid in a secret chamber of an England mansion. What is the central motive of the rambling plot can hardly be determined.

2

"The Dolliver Romance"² is a series of fragments, fifty pages in all, treating the theme of the elixir of life. The old apothecary has inherited a formula for making the draught, but lacks, or is only partially successful in providing, one ingredient. His predecessor knew the entire secret, had the means of prolonging

1. First printed in 1883.

2. Portions were printed in the Atlantic Monthly in 1864-65.

his life indefinitely; but for some reason he declined to use the privilege, and died like any other man. Now Dolliver continues the search for the elixir. What might result from its possession is unknown, for the narrative remains uncompleted.⁹ We have now reviewed more than twenty-five tales in which the central theme is some form of persistent quest. In other tales it sometimes runs as an undercurrent, making an occasional appearance on the surface for the brief space of a paragraph, and then yielding itself to some more tangible and pressing interest.¹ The four great novels,

1. Hawthorne was in the habit of jotting down notes of possible plots for stories. Many of these are plots for stories of the quest type. Those which I quote here are all taken from the lists at the end of Vol. 1 of Julian Hawthorne's life. The American Note-Books furnish other examples.

"With an emblematic divining-rod to seek for emblematic gold,--- that is, for truth; for what of heaven is left on earth.

"The advantages of a longer life than is allotted to mortals: the many things that might then be accomplished, to which one lifetime is inadequate. . .

"Great expectations to be entertained, in the allegorical Grub Street, of the appearance of the Great American Writer. . .

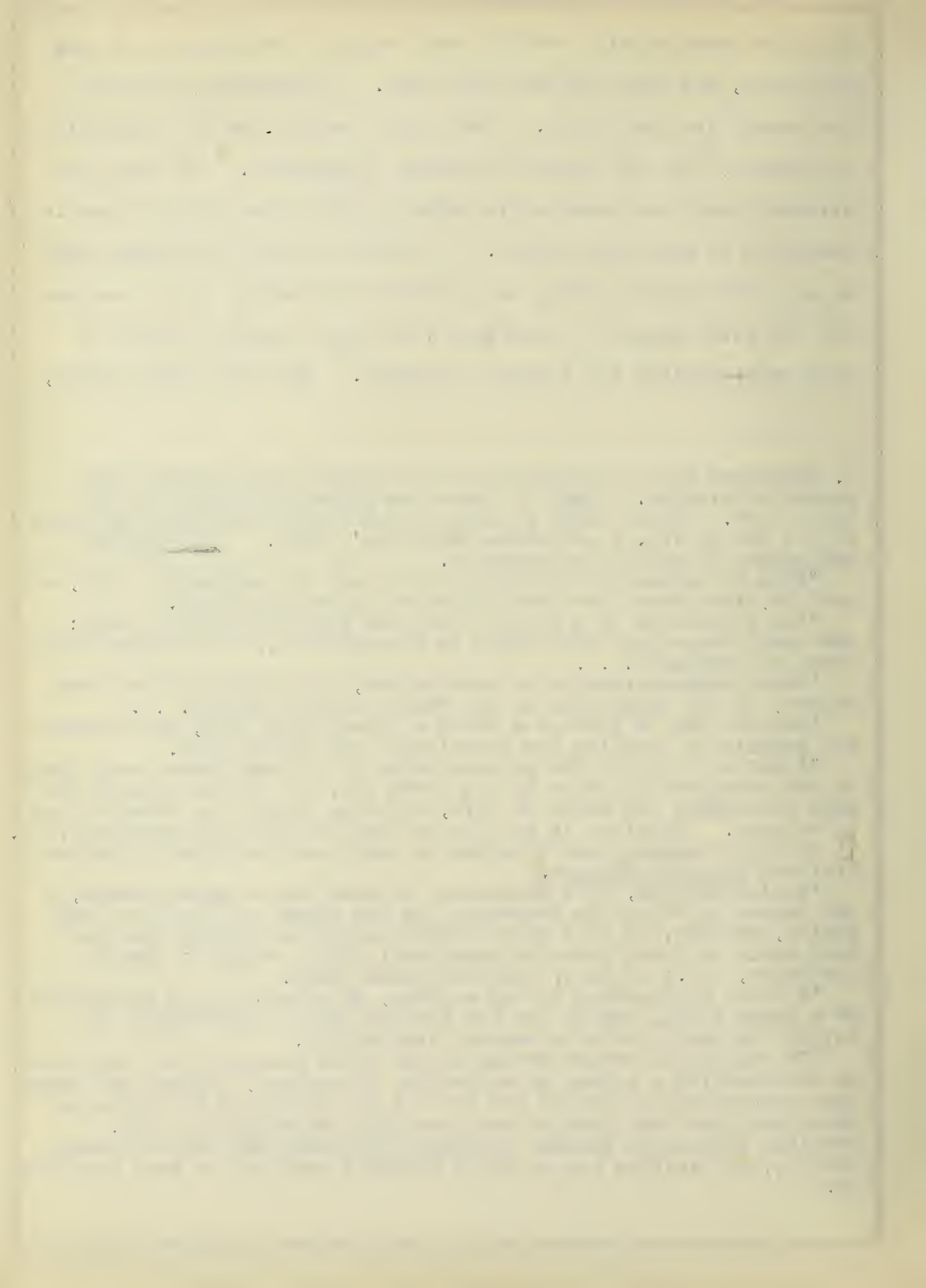
"And old man to promise a youth a treasure of gold, and to keep his promise by teaching him practically the Golden Rule.

"A man arriving at the extreme point of old age grows young again at the same pace at which he had grown old, --- returning upon his path throughout the whole of life, and thus taking the reverse view of matters. Methinks it would give rise to some odd concatenations [I strongly suspect that this was to have been the plan of the unfinished Dolliver Romance.]

"A disquisition, or a discussion between two or more persons, on the manner in which the Wandering Jew has spent his life, --- one period, perhaps, in wild carnal debauchery; then trying over and over again to grasp domestic happiness; then a soldier; then a statesman, etc.; at last, realizing some truth.

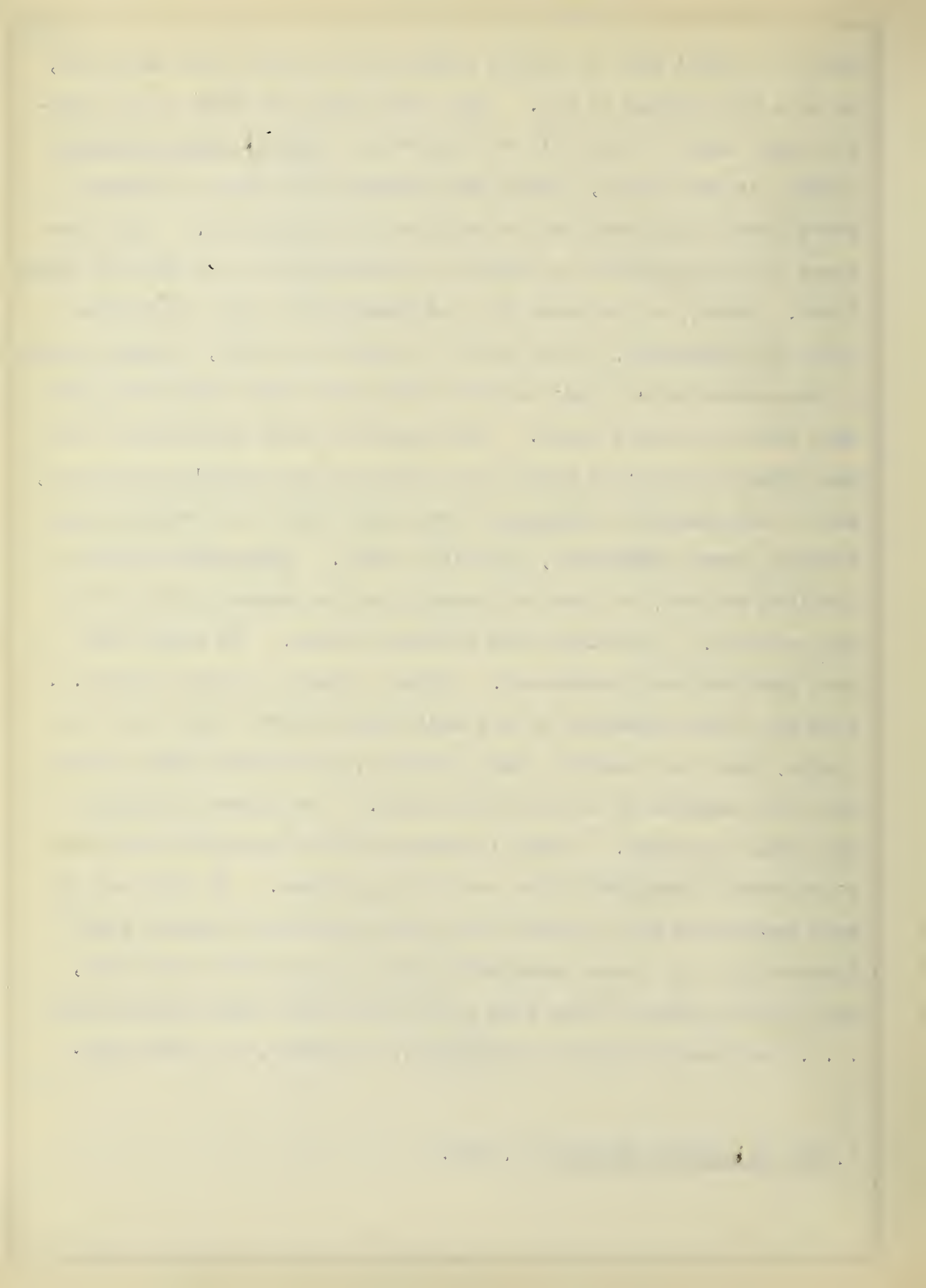
"A moral philosopher to buy a slave, or otherwise get possession of a human being, and to use him for the sake of experiment, by trying the operation of a certain vice on him.

"To typify our mature review of our early prospects and delusions by representing a person as wandering, in manhood, through and among the various castles in the air that he had raised in his youth, and describing how they look to him, --- their dilapidations, etc. Possibly some small portion of these structures may have a certain reality, and suffice him to build a humble dwelling to pass his life in."



which the great body of mature readers will always know Hawthorne, we have not touched at all. Yet even there the theme of the hopeful quest makes itself felt at intervals. The Blithedale Romance (1852), in particular, traces the fortunes of a band of dreamers whose novel experiment was to bring on the golden age. The character of Hollingsworth is parallel in development with that of Ethan Brand. Brand, in his quest for the Unpardonable Sin, is ^a Puritan type; Hollingsworth, in his zeal to reform the world, is more nearly a transcendentalist type; but both bring ruin upon themselves and upon their cherished hopes. Hollingsworth makes philanthropy the one object of life; he will at all costs be the world's benefactor, and in his inexorable progress toward this ideal he tramples upon friends, human sympathies, and life itself. Beginning with the loftiest motives, he lost his humanity as he became involved with his one idea. He became more and more morose. He spoke only when pertinaciously addressed. "Then, indeed, he would glare . . . from the thick shrubbery of his meditations like a tiger out of a jungle, make the briefest reply possible, and betake himself back into the solitude of his heart and mind."¹ He became something not flesh and blood. "This is always true of those men who have surrendered themselves to an overruling purpose. It does not so much impel them from without, nor even operate as a motive power from within, but grows incorporate with all they think and feel, and finally converts them into little else save that one principle . . . they have no heart, no sympathy, no reason, no conscience.

1. The Blithedale Romance, p. 361.



They will keep no friend, unless he make himself the mirror of their purpose; they will smite and slay you, and trample your dead corpse under foot, all the more readily, if you take the first step with them, and cannot take the second, and the third, and every other step of their terribly straight path. They have an idol to which they consecrate themselves high-priest, and deem it holy work to offer sacrifices of whatever is most precious; and never once seem to suspect --- so cunning has the Devil been within them --- that this false deity, in whose iron features, immitigable to all the rest of mankind, they see only benignity and love, is but a spectrum of the very priest himself, projected upon the surrounding darkness. And the higher and purer the original object, and the more unselfishly it may have been taken up, the slighter is the probability that they can be led to recognize the process by which godlike benevolence has been debased into all-devouring egotism."¹ On the occasion of the unscrupulous sacrifice of Zenobia, the author sees in the reformer-philanthropist "all that an artist could desire for the grim portrait of a Puritan magistrate holding inquest of life and death in a case of witchcraft."²

In The Scarlet Letter (1850) Roger Chillingsworth is another cold, relentless egotist. He describes himself as "a man of thought -- the book-worm of great libraries" who has given his best years faithfully to feed "the hungry dream of knowledge";³ "faithfully, too, though this latter object was but casual to the other,---

1. p. 399.

2. p. 562.

3. The Scarlet Letter, p. 96

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faithfully for the advancement of human welfare".¹ But even this broad wisdom and sympathy was not enough to retain the affections of his wife, and when she has committed adultery, he begins a long and tragic process, to wring the secret from the woman's heart, or find her accomplice by prying into the conscience of all the men she has ever known. "I come to the inquest with other senses than they possess. I shall seek this man, as I have sought truth in books, as I have sought gold in alchemy."²

In The House of Seven Gables (1851) and The Marble Faun (1860) traces of the same motive appear, but they are not essential to the plot. I wish to be understood; I do not consider that the quest theme is the central issue in any of the great novels. It is not, in my opinion, the most important theme even in the shorter tales. It is one of a number of important themes, and the author was perhaps unaware that he had made such frequent recourse to it. He sought to represent the lights and shadows of New England life, the interplay of hope, despair, worldly ambitions, sin and conscience, and in this capacity as an interpreter of the New England mind, he was led irresistibly to the phenomenon we have examined, the endless seeking for some unknown good.

On a number of the tales which here serve our purpose it is obvious that Hawthorne intended to do further work. Ethan Brand is labeled "From an Abortive Romance"; "The Christmas Banquet" is "From the Unpublished 'Allegories of the Heart' "; "Doctor Grimshawe's Secret" is fragmentary; "Septimius Felton" the author toiled heavily upon through the last hard year of his life, and

1. p. 208.

2. p. 98.

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abandoned for the "Dolliver Romance", on which he was barely able to make a beginning. These works, related in subject, form an unwritten book, and show Hawthorne groping with a number of ideas which he was unable to bring together. Therefore the full significance of the elixir of life, and a number of other aspects of the eternal quest, are unknown to us; and the author's treatment of the theme, like the theme itself, is unfinished and uncertain. Yet there are a number of facts upon which we may lay hold.

Considering the long list of tales we have reviewed, we are able to detect a change of attitude as the chronological development proceeds. The earliest tales, of the Great Carbuncle or Ambitious Guest type, have a literary flavor; they are the natural expression of a young man of romantic taste, who has himself just begun an ambitious attempt to make a place for himself in the world of letters. About the time of the Mosses from an Old Manse, the quest tales acquire a transcendental aspect; they appear to reflect the spiritual restlessness and searching of inward depths which was so notable a feature of Emerson's day; they reveal, also, a sad irony and disillusionment. Finally, in the early fifties, the period of the Blithedale Romance, the scope of the stories widens and becomes more than an expression of a reaction against transcendental excesses; it represents the stern, relentless progress of the New England mind from the earliest Puritan times; and increasingly it represents a quest which, beginning with the best spiritual motives, ends in egotism and ruin.

I am afraid I have over-emphasized the matter of chronology. Hawthorne is quite capable, in his later period, of writing a sunny-tempered story like "The Great Stone Face"; and some of the earliest tales express a measure of doubt and irony. But in general, the

drift of the current^{is} as I have indicated.

Hawthorne absorbed a portion of the striving, seeking, desiring spirit from literary sources. The doom of intellectual unrest was upon half the writers of his generation, and it would be strange if Hawthorne did not catch echoes from Goethe, Byron, Shelley, Poe, and other aspiring or rebellious spirits, at home and abroad. He probably became interested in the theme of the Wandering Jew through reading Godwin,¹ and through the writing of his own countryman William Austin.² But attempts to find literary forbears have thus far met with limited success, for Hawthorne wrote out of the depths of his own consciousness, and this consciousness had its main roots in the past and present of his own New England.³

1. When Hawthorne was only seventeen, he wrote to his sister that he had read St. Leon, and intended to read all of Godwin's novels. (Conway: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 67.)

2. Austin was a Boston lawyer, personally acquainted with Godwin. He wrote a number of stories (particularly "Peter Rugg, the Missing Man", New England Galaxy, Sept. 10, 1824) which are reported to have influenced Hawthorne (T. W. Higginson: "A Precursor of Hawthorne"; Independent, March 29, 1888).

3. Brownell says of Hawthorne: "quite without literary derivation". --- American Prose Masters, p. 63.

Lodge, Henry Cabot: Studies in History, p. 23. "Hawthorne had no 'authorities'."

Trent, William P.: A History of American Literature, p. 207. The novels of Charles Brockden Brown" are usually held to have influenced both Hawthorne and Poe, although this is hard to prove".

Poe, in a review of Twice-Told Tales in Graham's Magazine for 1842, calls Hawthorne "original in all points". In a review of Mosses from an Old Manse in Godey's Lady's Book for 1847, he says Hawthorne's style is an imitation of Tieck. In the American Notebooks, under date of April 9, 10, 11, 1843, Hawthorne describes his attempt to wade through Tieck in the original.

Belden, H. M., writing in Anglia, new series vol. 11, p. 376, says: "Such resemblance as Poe had in mind could not have been the result of reading Tieck in the original". And again (p. 379): "Hawthorne . . . belonged to no clique or school, had so far as we know no literary antecedents with which his work can be closely connected, no master to whom he can be referred."

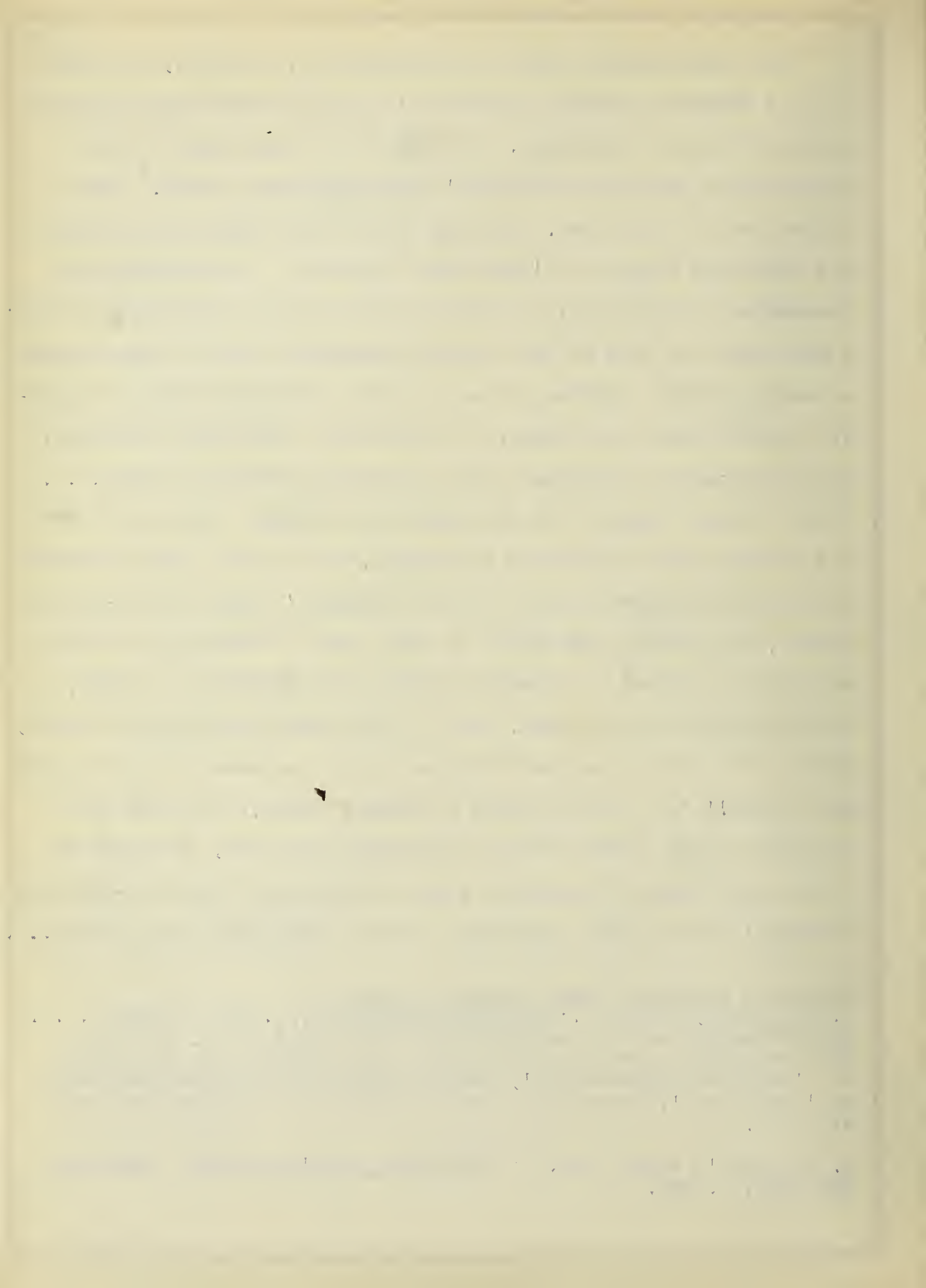
(Footnote continued on next page.)

The inner-seeking spirit of Hawthorne is, moreover, not merely that of European romantic literature; it is the moral and religious quest of his own birthplace. By way of comparison I shall quote here a portion of Whittier's The Proselytes (1833).¹ "The student sat at his books. All day he had been poring over an old and time-worn volume --- 'What have I gained? I have pushed my researches wide and far; my life has been one long and weary lesson; I have shut out from me the busy and beautiful world; I have chastened every youthful impulse; at an age when the heart should be lightest and the pulse the freest, I am grave and silent and sorrowful, and the frost of a premature age is gathering around my heart. . . I have toiled through what the world calls wisdom, the lore of the old fathers and time honored philosophy, not for the dream of power and gratified ambition, not for the alchemist's gold or life-giving elixir, but with an eye single to that which I conceived to be the most fitting object of a godlike spirit, the discovery of Truth,-- truth perfect and unclouded, truth in its severe and perfect beauty, truth as it sits in awe and holiness in the presence of its Original and Source!' "--- At this point a stranger enters, and gives consolation to the student; "The truth which is of God, the crown of wisdom, the pearl of exceeding price, demands not this vain-glorious research; easily to be entreated, it lies within the reach of all..

(Footnote continued from preceding page).

.. Woodberry, George E.: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 125. "Scott . . . was the author who had most affected his mental habit, and with this exception, notwithstanding what some critics have alleged of his 'American predecessors', Charles Brockden Brown and the author of 'Peter Rugg', there is no trace of any other literary influence upon him."

1. Whittier's Works, Vol. 5; Margaret Smith's Journal, Tales and Sketches, p. 305.



It is in our own spirits, it lives within us. . . Look thou within. The holy principle is there. . . It is 'the great light of ages' of which Pythagoras speaks, the 'good spirit' of Socrates, the 'divine mind' of Anaxagoras, the 'perfect principle' of Plato, . . . the 'interior guide of the soul and everlasting foundation of virtue' spoken of by Plutarch. . . Preserve in their freshness thy present feelings, wait in humble resignation and patience for the manifestations of Him who as a father careth for all His children." The stranger then reveals himself as the pure-hearted Quaker, William Penn.

Whittier's tale has something of the subject matter of German romanticism, but the deeper motive and source of his inspiration is the religion of his own country. Hawthorne's tales similarly borrow a few foreign properties, but their real indebtedness is to a long course of local social and religious history.

Whether Hawthorne was conscious or unconscious that his work represents the spiritual quest of New England, we cannot know. He was, of course, fully conscious of the irony of The Celestial Railroad and Ethan Brand. But that his work so fully represents the New England pursuit of introspection, and represents the turning point of its excessive hopes, he seems to be unaware. And the critics also, I take it, have read no historical meaning in the words with which we opened this discussion: "On this theme . . . the vain search for an unearthly treasure . . . methinks I could frame a tale with a deep moral." Mr. Brownell, intent to scold Hawthorne for moralizing, runs rapidly over the first part of the quotation, and emphasizes the latter part: "He did frame such a tale ---

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'The Great Carbuncle' --- whose moral is doubtless deep to those to whom all morals are so."¹ I have chosen to emphasize the first part of the quotation: "the vain search for an unearthly treasure". The vain search for an unearthly treasure --- the phrase carries a historical meaning deeper and wider than the moral which the author intended of Mr. Brownell perceived; it summarizes two centuries of Puritan and transcendental evolution, and announces the declining fortunes of introspection.

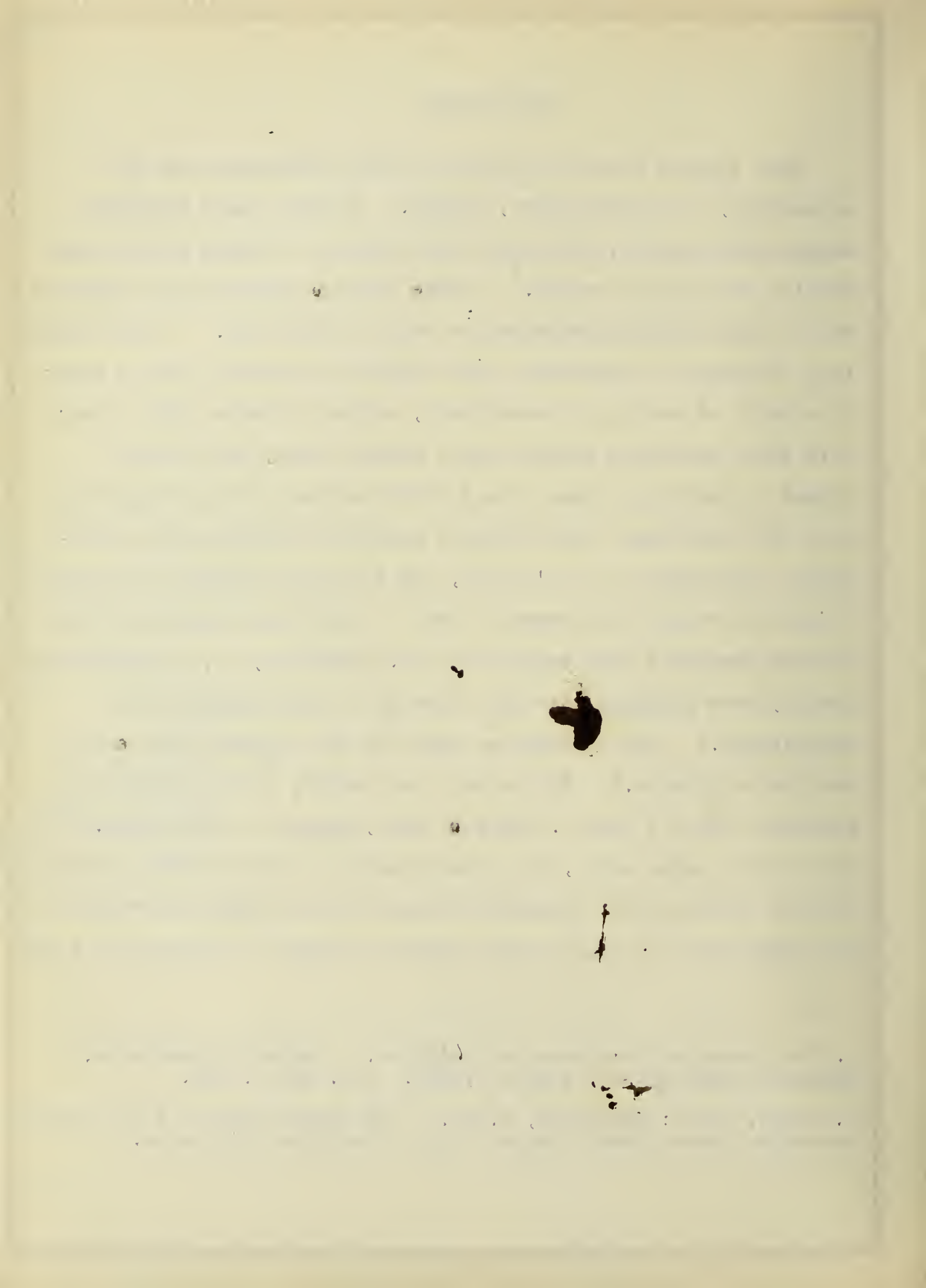
1. W. C. Brownell: American Prose Masters, p. 78.

Disillusion

Most critics have been content to call Hawthorne sad, or melancholy, or at the utmost, gloomy. To call him a pessimist seems rather strong, but such is the word of a French critic whose opinion has carried weight.¹ Emile Montégut points in an emphatic way to the lifelong preoccupation with sin and evil. "This marked love of cases of conscience; this taciturn, scornful cast of mind; this habit of seeing sin everywhere, and hell always gaping open; this dusky gaze bent always upon a damned world, and a nature draped in mourning; these lonely conversations of the imagination with the conscience; this pitiless analysis resulting from a perpetual examination of one's self, and from the tortures of a heart closed before men and opened to God --- all these elements of the Puritan character have passed into Mr. Hawthorne, or, to speak more justly, have filtered into him, through a long succession of generations." Henry James has taken up the argument and come to another conclusion.² "It is all true indeed, with a difference; Hawthorne was all that M. Montégut says, minus the conviction. The old Puritan moral sense, the consciousness of sin and hell, of the fearful nature of our responsibilities and the savage character of our Taskmaster --- these things had been lodged in the mind of a man

1. "Un Romancier Pessimiste en Amérique. Nathaniel Hawthorne." Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1, 1860. Vol. 28, p. 668.

2. James, Henry: Hawthorne, p. 60. The latter part of the quotation describes James himself better than it describes Hawthorne.



of Fancy, whose fancy had straightway begun to take liberties and play tricks with them --- to judge them (Heaven forgive him!) from the poetic and aesthetic point of view, the point of view of entertainment and irony. This absence of conviction makes the difference."

The reader thus has a choice of opinions: Hawthorne was a pessimist, or he "lacked conviction". It appears to me that both these views are partly right and partly wrong. Montégut is right to this extent, that there is in Hawthorne's work a profound and personal sadness. James is right in maintaining that Hawthorne did not have definitely formulated philosophic views or theories about human nature; he subscribed to no doctrine; he had few intellectual "convictions". One critic exaggerates and the other minimizes the seriousness of the author's work. But both critics, it seems to me, make a fundamental error; they leave half the story untold. They fall into the old convention of regarding Hawthorne as the interpreter of Puritanism only, and their question is whether he interprets earnestly or in play; whereas the inquiry should include Hawthorne's relation to transcendental hopes and the other bright enterprises of his own day, from which, it will be discovered, Hawthorne's reaction was serious and profound. If the matter were merely a preoccupation with Puritanism, I should be inclined to agree with James: Hawthorne was certainly emancipated from the old Puritan fear of hellfire and the threatening shadow of sin and human depravity; he weaved them into his tales with the relish of an artist, pleased with their rich chiaroscuro, the mingling of light and shade into gray twilight effects; he even treated them with grim, ironical humor. But his reaction from the movements of his own



day left him with no solid ground to fall back on; his disillusionment was thorough and real.

Of the two epithets applied to Hawthorne, that he was a pessimist, or that he "lacked conviction", I am not sure which is the more damaging; but I think the last. For the pessimist¹ has a principle even though it be negative, while the man who "lacks conviction" has nothing. James wishes to tell us why Hawthorne was not sad: because, with respect to Puritan gloom, he "lacked conviction". I am inclined to think this was why he was sad. The lack of conviction grew to be a mental habit; it alienated Hawthorne not only from Puritan beliefs, but from transcendentalism, from reform, from the harmless enthusiasms of social intercourse; the absence of conviction was what hurt. At the end of The Blithedale Romance the author says:² "As regards human progress (in spite of my irrespressible yearnings over the Blithedale reminiscences), let them believe in it who can, and aid in it who choose. If I could earnestly do either, it might be all the better for my comfort. As Hollingsworth once told me, I lack a purpose. How strange! He was ruined, morally, by an overplus of the very same ingredient, the want of which, I occasionally suspect, has rendered my own life all an emptiness." In many other tales and sketches this type of character appears, a character strangely chilly, wanting earnestness,

1. Using the term as James (following Montégut uses it: "Pessimism consists in having morbid and bitter views and theories about human nature" (p. 27).

2. In the character of Miles Coverdale. James (p. 129) and nearly all critics regard Coverdale as a shadowy figure of the author. Julian Hawthorne (Vol. 1, p. 85) denies this, but I cannot see that he makes his denial good.

pursued by a haunting sense of unreality.¹

The completeness of Hawthorne's disillusionment will become apparent if we review here some of the enthusiasms of his day toward which he assumed an attitude of polite skepticism. For spiritualism, hypnotism, and kindred psychological phenomena, he seems to have had little sympathy from the start, although his wife had a decided inclination to believe in them.² In The Blithedale Romance he describes a public exhibition of mesmerism, and quotes ironically the words of the speaker. "It was eloquent, ingenious, plausible, with a delusive show of spirituality, yet really imbued throughout with a cold and dead materialism . . . He spoke of a new era that was dawning upon the world; an era that would link soul to soul, and the present life to what we call futurity, with a closeness that should finally convert both worlds into one great,

1. The most extreme instance is Hastings, in "The Christmas Banquet" Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 322. Hastings is represented as the most unfortunate man in the world; not because he has committed crime (for he has done nothing), but because he is impassive, indifferent to all human interests. --- "And how is it with your views of a future life?" inquired the speculative clergyman. --- "Worse than with you," answered Hastings, "for I cannot conceive it earnestly enough to feel either hope or fear."

2. Writing to Sophia from Brook Farm, Sept. 27, 1841, Hawthorne says: "Take no part, I beseech you in these magnetic miracles . . . I have no faith whatever that people are raised to the seventh heaven, or to any heaven at all, or that they gain any insight into the mysteries of life beyond death, by means of this strange science. Without distrusting that the phenomena have really occurred, I think that they are to be accounted for as the result of a material and physical, not of a spiritual, influence." --- American Note-Books, p. 244.

Years later, when Hawthorne and his wife were in Italy, they had a servant who was a "medium". They also talked frequently with the Brownings about spiritualism. Hawthorne was skeptical as ever, and his wife continued to be somewhat credulous. --- Woodberry, George E. : Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 264. --- Also Conway, Moncure D. : Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 189

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mutually conscious brotherhood." ¹ In England the family doctor of the Hawthornes was Dr. Wilkinson, a homoeopathist, Swedenborgian, spiritualist, who tried to interest his patients in occult matters. "Do I believe in these wonders?" Hawthorne wrote in his English Note-Books. ² "Of course; for how is it possible to doubt either the solemn word or the sober observation of a learned and sensible man like Dr. -----? But again, do I really believe it? Of course not; for I cannot consent to have heaven and earth, this world and the next, beaten up together like the white and yolk of an egg . . . I would not believe my own sight, nor the touch of spiritual hands; and it would take deeper and higher strains than those of Mr. Harris to convince me. . . This matter of spiritualism is surely the strangest that ever was heard of; and yet I feel unaccountably little interest in it. --- a sluggish disgust, and repugnance to meddle with it."

The best-known instance of Hawthorne's disillusionment is, of course, the Brook Farm enterprise. This, at the start absorbed Hawthorne's full sympathy, as well as all his worldly capital. ² "I remember our beautiful scheme of a noble and unselfish life; and how fair, in that first summer, appeared the prospect that it might endure for generations, and be perfected, as the ages rolled away, into the system of a people and a world!" ³ But the reaction soon set in. "I was beginning to lose the sense of what kind of a world it was, among innumerable schemes of what it might or ought to be . . . It was now time for me, therefore, to go and hold a little talk

1. p. 547

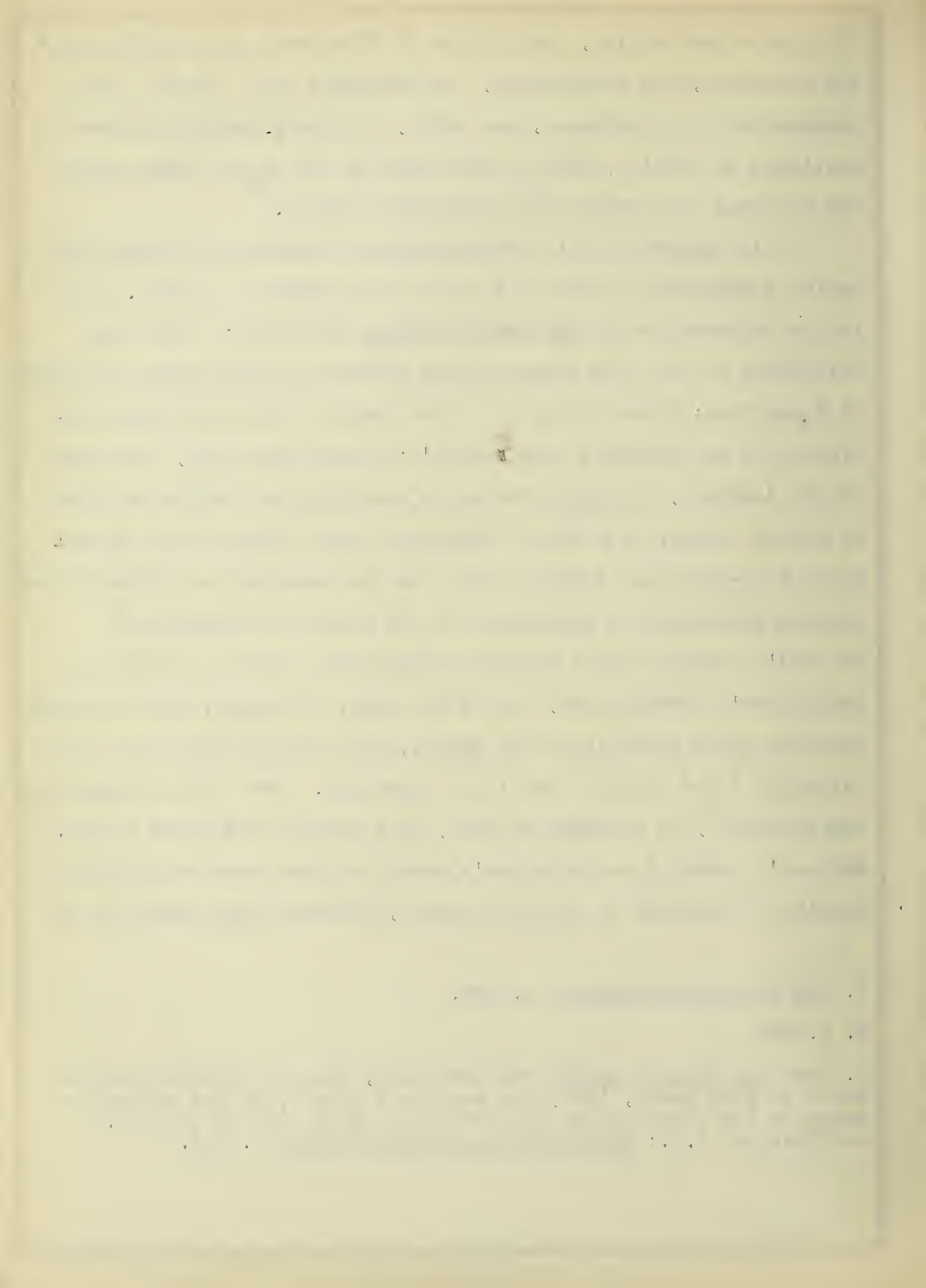
2. Vol. 2, p. 597.

3. The Blithedale Romance, p. 597.

with the conservatives, the writers of "The North American Review," the merchants, the politicians, the Cambridge men, and all those respectable old blockheads, who still, in this intangibility and mistiness of affairs, kept a death-grip on one or two ideas which had not come into vogue since yesterday morning."¹

His interest in his transcendental neighbors at Concord also cooled considerably before the time of his removal to Salem. For in the introduction to The Scarlet Letter he writes: "After my fellowship of toil and impracticable schemes with the dreamy brethren of Brook Farm; after living for three years within the subtle influence of an intellect like Emerson's; after those wild, free days on the Assabeth, indulging fantastic speculations, beside our fire of fallen boughs, with Ellery Channing; after talking with Thoreau about pine-trees and Indian relics, in his hermitage at Walden; after growing fastidious by sympathy with the classic refinement of Hillard's culture; after becoming imbued with poetic sentiment at Longfellow's hearth-stone, --- it was time, at length, that I should exercise other faculties of my nature, and nourish myself with food for which I had hitherto had little appetite. Even the old Inspector was desirable, as a change of diet, to a man who had known Alcott."² Emerson's recoil from Hawthorne's work³ may have been an instinctive dislike of the mood of disillusionment, Emerson being always at the

1. The Blithedale Romance, p. 480.
2. p. 43.
3. When The Scarlet Letter was published, Emerson conceded that it was a work of power, "But," he said to a friend, with a repulsive shrug of the shoulders as he uttered the word, "it is ghastly."
--- Whipple, E.P.: Recollections of Eminent Men, p. 149.



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crest of transcendental enthusiasm, and Hawthorne having declined into the vale of skepticism.

With regard to slavery, Hawthorne was unable to share the intense feeling which swept New England. He wrote to Bridge: "I have no kindred with, nor leaning toward, the abolitionists." He was willing to see the Union divided. "I don't quite understand what we are fighting for, or what definite result can be expected . . . I don't hope, nor indeed wish, to see the Union restored."¹ This despair for the Union, and absence of belief in its future, are apparent in the correspondence of the early period of the Civil War. He had not the slightest sympathy with John Brown, whose "martyrdom" awakened in so many New England minds a reverence next to idolatry. "I shall ^{not} pretend to be an admirer of old John Brown . . . Nobody was ever more justly hanged. He won his martyrdom fairly and took it firmly. . . Any common-sensible man, looking at the matter unsentimentally, must have felt a certain intellectual satisfaction in seeing him hanged, if it were only in requital of his preposterous miscalculation of possibilities."²

Hawthorne's notebooks of travel record the decline of romantic hopes.³ He had, in youth, fanciful dreams about Europe and its seductive traditions. But he carried with him his fatal habit of going beneath the surface to the stark reality. "I bitterly detest

1. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 2, p. 276. Also Woodberry, George E.: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 282.

2. "Chiefly About War Matters", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 10, p. 43; July, 1862.

3. "His traveller's notes are the expression of disillusion; the plain fact is, he did not like Italy".--- Macy, John: The Spirit of American Literature, p. 92.

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Rome, and shall rejoice to bid it farewell forever." ¹ Of all the instances of shrewd skepticism that the notebooks record, the most interesting is the meeting with Delia Bacon. This woman-of-one-idea had spent her life in a vain search to discover the authorship of Shakespeare's plays; she was the living embodiment of the character Hawthorne had described so often in his tales. She had made converts to her theory, Elizabeth Peabody and other intelligent persons among the number; but Hawthorne was "conscious within" himself of "sturdy unbelief". He wrote about her with deep sympathy, as if he recognized in her the sad credulity of a bewildered mind ² that he had encountered in so many of his countrymen.

1. Woodberry, George E.: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 270.

2. Our Old Home, p. 129. Emerson considered this passage to be the best thing Hawthorne ever wrote. For psychological depth and subtlety it can hardly be surpassed. "Unquestionably, she was a monomaniac; these overmastering ideas about the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, and the deep political philosophy concealed beneath the surface of them, had completely thrown her off her balance; but at the same time they had wonderfully developed her intellect, and made her what she could not otherwise have become. It was a very singular phenomenon: a system of philosophy growing up in this woman's mind without her volition, --- contrary, in fact, to the determined resistance of her volition, --- and substituting itself in the place of everything that originally grew there. To have based such a system on fancy, and unconsciously elaborated it for herself, was almost as wonderful as really to have found it in the plays."

The woman had long been under the conviction that she would discover certain important documents in a grave, and the following lines describe her hesitation over Shakespeare's tomb. "A doubt stole into her mind whether she might not have mistaken the depository and mode of concealment of those historic treasures; and, after once admitting the doubt, she was afraid to hazard the shock of uplifting the stone and finding nothing. . . . It is very possible, moreover, that her acute mind may always have had a lurking and deeply latent distrust of its own fantasies, and that this now became strong enough to restrain her from a decisive step."

Concerning Hawthorne's religious beliefs I find it hard to arrive at a conclusion. The man was never "converted", and never joined any church. Conway says "He was not what could be called a religious man."

¹His writings show much more familiarity with the outside of churches than with the inside. The earlier notebooks make one or two transient references to hearing a sermon,² but in general he showed a strong desire to escape them.³ What he lacked in religious partizanship he more than made up in moral vigor. The Scarlet Letter has nothing to say about Christ, or prayer, or remission of sins. Evil and sin are presented as fatal and almost without remedy. The critics are right in associating the author with George Eliot. Woodberry says,⁴ "Hawthorne here and elsewhere anticipates those ethical views which are the burden of George Eliot's moral genius, and contain scientific pessimism. This stoicism, which was in Hawthorne, is a primary element in his moral nature, in him as well as in his work; it is visited with few touches of tenderness and pity; the pity one feels is not in him, it is in the pitiful thing, which he presents objectively, sternly, unrelentingly." With regard to the relentless action of moral law, Hawthorne

1. Conway, Moncure D.: Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 171.

2. American Note-Books, p. 25.

3. Hawthorne, Julian: Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 1, p. 214. Also Vol. 2, p. 22, 62, 79.

4. Woodberry, George E.: Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 201.

came near being a fatalist,¹ for in this one matter ~~X~~ his usual "lack of conviction" did not operate. With regard to immortality, there are some passages which express orthodox views, and some which show a measure of uncertainty:² but he did not often introduce the subject, and it is not obvious that he had any strong convictions one way or the other.

The disillusionment of Hawthorne, of which we have now accumulated instances enough, was slow and reluctant. He has almost a paternal solicitude for all who are misled by the bright enthusiasms from which he is estranged. In The Blithedale Romance this genial respect for his old illusions is most noticeable. Macy³ comments upon it thus: "Through the poet, Coverdale, past the age of warmest enthusiasm and gifted with a delicate humour, Hawthorne tells his story. . . It is full of a tender sympathy for the dreams of man; the dreamer who wrote it responded to other dreamers. . .

1. Many passages might be quoted. For example: "Would that I had a folio to write, instead of an article of a dozen pages! Then might I exemplify how an influence beyond our control lays its strong hand on every deed which we do, and weaves its consequences into an iron tissue of necessity." --- Twice-Told Tales, "Wakefield", p. 160.

I do not believe such quotations prove the point --- for such matters can hardly be proved; --- but they show a tendency.

2. American Note-Books, p. 397. "If we consider the lives of the lower animals, we shall see in them a close parallelism to those of mortals, -- toil, struggle, danger, privation, mingled with glimpses of peace and ease; enmity, affection, a continual hope of bettering themselves, although their objects lie at less distance before them than ours can do. Thus, no argument for the imperfect character of our existence and its delusory promises, and its apparent injustice, can be drawn in reference to our immortality, without, in a degree, being applicable to our brute brethren."

3. Macy, John: The Spirit of American Literature, p. 90.

And it is hued with . . . a fine irony, the soul of New England common-sense, reserved and tender, unwilling to break the spell." Unwilling to break the spell --- Hawthorne was always unwilling to destroy the illusion.¹ His interest in children is the greater for their being not yet disillusioned; he leans over them; he delights in their innocent display of spirit; his evident desire is to preserve them from sophistication. Young lovers, lost in rosy illusions, he follows with anxious eye. Ambitious young men, reformers with hopes not realized, he treats with earnest sympathy as if he were remembering his own youth. The daguerreotypist in The House of Seven Gables, for example, might fairly be considered a portrait, drawn by the older, disillusioned Hawthorne, of the young Hawthorne of pre-transcendental days.² "He could talk sagely about the world's old age, but never actually believed what he said; he was a young man still, and therefore looked upon the world --- that gray-bearded and wrinkled profligate, decrepit, without being ven-

1. The reluctance to cross imaginary mental barriers finds a place in the stories. In Doctor Grimshawe's Secret, p. 153, a character wilfully prolongs his illusion. In "Wakefield", Twice-Told Tales, p. 153, and elsewhere, there are striking examples.

2. Hawthorne constantly writes his own qualities and experiences into his characters. It is never safe to assume that any tale is autobiographical; but many are autobiographical in part. For example, the daguerreotypist, like Hawthorne, is an artist, a painter of portraits that reveal the inner nature of people. He is analytic, a cool and calm observer, prying into the secret thoughts of others. He is a reformer, has dabbled in mesmerism, has spent some months in a community of Fourierists, and has spent a restless, wandering youth in an attempt to find his proper niche. Finally, he writes for the magazines.

erable --- as a tender stripling, capable of being improved into all that it ought to be, but scarcely yet had shown the remotest promise of becoming. He had that sense, or inward prophecy, --- which a young man had better never have been born than not to have, and a mature man had better die at once than utterly to relinquish, --- that we are not doomed to creep on forever in the old bad way, but that, this very now, there are the harbingers abroad of a golden era, to be accomplished in his own lifetime. It seemed to Holgrave --- as doubtless it has seemed to the hopeful of every century since the epoch of Adam's grandchildren --- that in this age, more than ever before, the moss-grown and rotten Past is to be torn down, and lifeless institutions to be thrust out of the way, and their dead corpses buried, and everything to begin anew."¹

In that paragraph speaks the young Hawthorne, the Hawthorne of the Great-Caruncle days. But the next paragraph is the voice of the elder Hawthorne, the Hawthorne of Scarlet-Letter days. "As to the main point, --- may we never live to doubt it! --- as to the better centuries that are coming, the artist was surely right. His error lay in supposing that this age; more than any past or future one, is destined to see the tattered garments of Antiquity exchanged for a new suit, instead of gradually renewing themselves by patchwork; in applying his own little life-span as the measure of an interminable achievement; and, more than all, in fancying that it mattered anything to the great end in view whether he himself should contend for it or against it."

1. The House of the Seven Gables, p. 215.

Then immediately follow the words of the latest Hawthorne, solicitous, paternal, unwilling to break the illusion. "Yet it was well for him to think so. This enthusiasm, infusing itself through the calmness of his character, and thus taking an aspect of settled thought and wisdom, would serve to keep his youth pure, and make his aspirations high. And when, with the years settling down more weightily upon him, his early faith should be modified by inevitable experience, it would be with no harsh and sudden revolution of his sentiments. He would still have faith in man's brightening destiny, and perhaps love him all the better, as he should recognize his helplessness in his own behalf; and the haughty faith, with which he began life, would be well bartered for a far humbler one at its close, in discerning that man's best directed effort accomplishes a kind of dream, while God is the sole worker of realities."

It might be shown, at some length, how the convictions, and lack of conviction which we have traced, are reflected in Hawthorne's style. But I shall be content, as this chapter draws near its close, to record only three qualities of Hawthorne's style, the three which bear closely upon our central theme. The first is a shadow-belief, or penumbra,¹ the use of veiled hints, qualified suggestions, or even bold derogatives, a method by which he prolongs an illusion in the very act of seeming to break it. In the early Twice-Told Tales

1. This expressive term was first applied to Hawthorne's style by Thomas Wentworth Higginson: Short Studies of American Authors, p. 8. "He surrounds each delineation with a sort of penumbra, takes you into his counsels, offers hypotheses, as 'May it not have been?' or, 'Shall we not rather say?' and sometimes, like a conjurer, urges upon you the card he does not intend you to accept."

this shadow-belief usually takes the form of an alternative: "Some reported that . . . Others soberly affirmed . . . But all agreed that . . ." ¹ In Mosses from an Old Manse, written when Hawthorne was beginning to react from transcendental ideas, the author more boldly discredits his own illusions. "His staff . . . might almost be seen to twist and wriggle itself like a living serpent. This, of course, must have been an ocular deception, assisted by the uncertain light."² In The Wonder Book, written in the year of The House of the Seven Gables, the illusion is very boldly broken: "But there is not, I suppose, a graft of that wonderful fruit on a single tree in the wide world."³ "But, in my private opinion, old Philemon's eyesight had been playing him tricks again."⁴ The writer even introduces a saucy little girl, Primrose, whose duty is to destroy the spell at regular intervals. In Dr. Grimshawe's

1. p. 30. See also p. 191, the ending of the story of "The Great Carbuncle": "The tale . . did not meet with the full credence that had been accorded to it by those who remembered the ancient lustre of the gem. For it is affirmed that . . . Other pilgrims . . . There is also a tradition that . . . Some few believe . . ."

2. p. 91. See also p. 115: "Giovanni could not determine how much of the singularity which he attributed to both was due to their own qualities and how much to his wonder-working fancy; but he was inclined to take a most rational view of the whole matter." Also p. 313: "And then, as the by-standers afterwards affirmed, a hissing sound was heard, apparently in Roderick Elliston's breast. It was said, too, that an answering hiss came from the vitals of the shipmaster, as if a snake were actually lurking there and had been aroused by the call of his brother reptile. If there were in fact any such sound, it might have been caused by a malicious exercise of ventriloquism on the part of Roderick." This and similar passages in "The Bosom Serpent" call forth the esthetic wrath of Mr. Brownell (American Prose Masters, p. 79). See also p. 20: "But this is nonsense."

3. p. 110.

4. p. 146.

Secret we find the author's note: "It shall always be a moot point whether the Doctor really believed in cobwebs, or was laughing at the credulous."¹ And in the last story the author wrote we find most deliberate use of the shadow-belief. "But we are unpardonable in suggesting such a fantasy to the prejudice of our venerable friend, knowing him to have been as pious and upright a Christian . . . as ever came of Puritan lineage."² This management of the penumbra of doubt deserves an extended treatment which it cannot receive here. Literary critics have had much to say about the "suspension of disbelief", but none, so far as I know, has studied Hawthorne's manner of attaining realism by the creation of disbelief.

The second quality of style is symbolism, which Hawthorne caught partly from the transcendentalists³ and partly from the Puritan past.⁴ When faith slackens in what were thought realities, these for a time prolong themselves as symbols, as, when one is disillusioned about Santa Claus, or miracles, or angels, he treasures them as symbols of some not-understood truth of human nature.

— There is, as Mr. More puts it, "the peculiar half vision in-

1. p. 347.

2. The Dolliver Romance, p. 18. See also p. 65-66.

3. One of the doctrines of transcendentalism was that objects of sense are symbols of the world of spirit; nature is a book to be read; nature is "the dial-plate of the invisible".

4. Riley, Woodbridge: American Thought, p. 173. "From Edwards to Emerson there is a line of Platonizers who looked at the natural through the bright lens of the super-natural; who could meet with never a fact without glossing it in the colors of eternity. These were the 'analogy-loving souls' who saw a double meaning in all events. . . . This poetic spirit of interpretation impregnated the New England mind for two hundred years."

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also outlines the methodology used in the study and the results obtained. The second part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the conclusions drawn from the research. It also discusses the limitations of the study and the areas for further research. The third part of the paper discusses the significance of the study and the contributions it has made to the field of research. It also discusses the practical applications of the study and the policy implications of the research. The fourth part of the paper discusses the future of the study and the areas for further research. It also discusses the challenges faced by the study and the opportunities for future research. The fifth part of the paper discusses the conclusion of the study and the final thoughts of the researcher. It also discusses the overall findings of the study and the key takeaways from the research.

herited by the soul when faith has waned and the imagination prolongs the old sensations in a shadowy involuntary life of its own; and herein too lies the field of true and effective symbolism."¹ It would be more correct to say there are two periods of symbolism; when new truth is being discovered by the imagination, and when old truth is being discredited, or assigned some merely poetic function. And whereas with the transcendentalists symbols were the dawn, with Hawthorne they were the twilight of belief. Or if in his Carbuncle days he did partake of the auroral expectations, his was an arctic dawn that quickly merged in twilight.² Perhaps there is a third

1. More, Paul Elmer: Shelburne Essays, Series 1, p. 67; "The Origins of Hawthorne and Poe".

2. There is a romantic flush in the closing sentence of "The Great Carbuncle" (Twice-Told Tales, p. 191): "And be it owned that, many a mile from the Crystal Hills I saw a wondrous light around their summits, and was lured, by the faith of poesy, to be the latest pilgrim of the Great Carbuncle." But contrast that with a sentence in "Sketches from Memory" (Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 493). The author is traveling by night on the Erie canal, and the boat is momentarily delayed. Hawthorne goes ashore to examine the phosphoric light of an old tree a little within the forest. He adds: "It was not the first delusive radiance I had followed." "The tree lay along the ground, and was wholly converted into a mass of diseased splendor, which threw a ghostliness around. Being full of conceits that night, I called it a frigid fire, a funeral light, illumining decay and death, an emblem of fame that gleams around the dead man without warming him, or of genius when it owes its brilliancy to moral rottenness, and was thinking that such ghostlike torches were just fit to light up this dead forest or to blaze coldly in tombs, when, starting from my abstraction, I looked up the canal. I recollected myself, and discovered the lanterns glimmerg far away".

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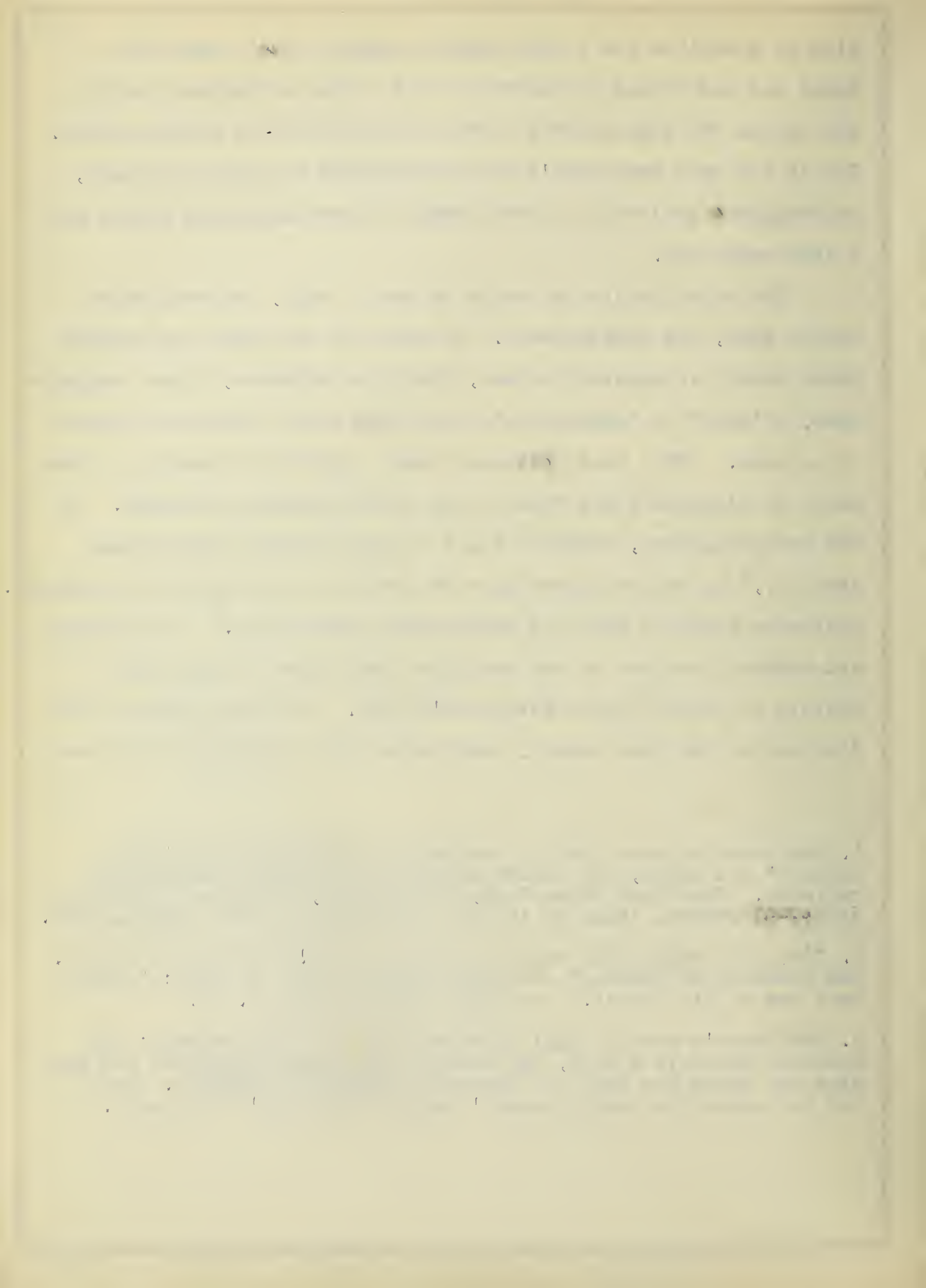
kind of symbolism (as in The Scarlet Letter) where inexorable moral law and forces of character take a kind of personal entity not unlike the supernatural forces conceived by the Puritan fancy. But in the main Hawthorne's is the symbolism of declining faith, an imaginative projection of the ideals of one historical period into a less happy one.

The third quality of style is what I call, for want of a better word, the undercurrent. At the same time that his thought plays about its apparent object, there are cadences, tones, suggestions, a "mood" or "atmosphere" that live about the words instead of in them. This mood oftenest takes the form of anxiety or sadness; it disappears and recurs like under-harmonies in music. If the mood brightens, there is still a late-afternoon pensiveness about it,¹ an Indian-summer glow of transitory and declining strength. Hawthorne admitted that his sadness was unconscious.² This depth and sadness have led to the tradition that there is some dark mystery or secret³ about Hawthorne's life. The only secret I can discover is the open secret, that he was the historian of the New

1. Hawthorne is very fond of the western sunlight which "falls athwart" his pages, and throws down upon his scene a momentary radiance. The Great Stone Face, for example, is veiled in thinly diffused vapors, "high up in the golden light of the setting sun".

2. "Oh, if I could only write a sunshiny book!" he said to Fields. And speaking of "Oberon", his own youthful self, he said: "A sadness was on his spirit." --- Tales and Sketches, p. 24.

3. Hawthorne's work is full of characters who have secrets: the minister who wore a veil, the woman in The Marble Faun who had seen what she dared not tell --- there are dozens of examples. But I see no reason for hunting mares' nests in the man's biography.



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England conscience,¹ and that he felt, as to the old profound hopes and searchings for eternal truth, that all was not going well. His theme was innate, not secret; he undertook to write what was in his mind and heart,² ~~and it chanced that the~~ spiritual aspirations of New England, their rise and decline, were there.

Longfellow understood the meaning of this deep undertone, and on the afternoon of Hawthorne's burial, heard the complaining voice of the wind in the pines, and compared it to the plaintive tone of the romancer's work.

"Now I look back, and meadow, manse, and stream
Dimly my thought defines;
I only see --- a dream within a dream ---
The hilltop hearsed with pines.

I only hear above his place of rest
Their tender undertone,
The infinite longings of a troubled breast,
The voice so like his own."

1. I mean, of course, a spiritual historian. Hawthorne tells us (Mosses from an Old Manse, p. 19) that he took no interest in ordinary history. Yet few writers could follow a story with such zest across a long period of time. "The years hurried onward, treading in their haste on one another's heels." "More years sped swiftly and tranquilly away."

2. Holmes gave expression to this idea in verse, "At the Saturday Club".

"Count it no marvel that he broods alone
Over the heart he studies, --- 'tis his own;
So in his page, whatever shape it wear,
The Essex wizard's shadowed self is there".

3. Wendell, Barrett: A Literary History of America, p. 435. "Of all our writers the least imitative, the most surely individual. The circumstances of his life combined with the sensitiveness of his nature to make his individuality indigenous. Beyond any one else . . . he expressed the deepest temper of that New England race which brought him forth."

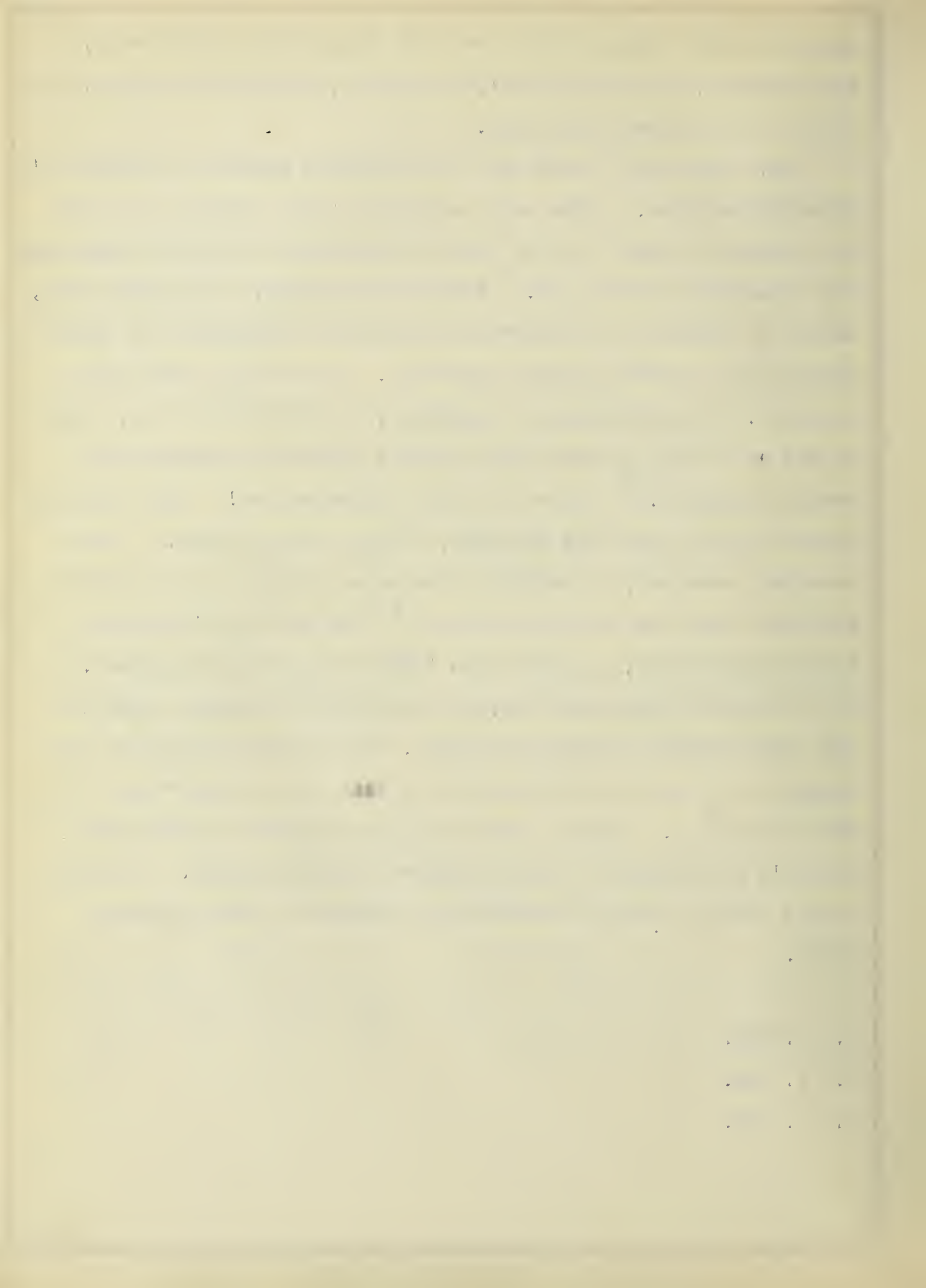
Longfellow had himself felt a measure of spiritual bereavement, the sadness which he could not, as he said, explain or express, but which he did express very well.

Not long since I came upon the following passage in Woodberry's life of Hawthorne. "The most surprising thing, however, is that his genius is found to be so purely objective; he himself emphasized the objectivity of his art. From the beginning, as has been said, he had no message, no inspiration welling up within him, no inward life of his own that sought expression. He was not even introspective. He was primarily a moralist, an observer of life, which he saw as a thing of the outside and he was keen in observation, cool, interested."¹ He was not even introspective! This sentence struck me as if some one had said, "Nights are not dark." I was somewhat reassured, on reading a few pages farther, to find that Hawthorne had "the meditative habit",² that he was a "solitary brooder upon life", and inherited "intense self-consciousness".³ It is true that Hawthorne had, at the end of his career, none of the transcendental ecstasy or vision. But the whole point of this chapter is to show that he arrived at calm "objectivity" only by way of reaction. Almost unanimously the critics attribute Hawthorne's low spirits to the influence of Puritan gloom. I prefer to say that he felt and recorded the decline of transcendental hopes.

1. p. 150.

2. p. 152.

3. p. 155.



CHAPTER III

THE REVIVAL OF A NEW HOPE IN HOLMES

The Transition to Psychology
Holmes and Introspection
The Subconscious

CHAPTER III

THE REVIVAL OF A NEW HOPE IN HOLMES

The Transition to Psychology

To turn from Hawthorne to Holmes is like making a sudden change of climate or season. Hawthorne was the New England Heraclitus, the "weeping philosopher", unable to find comfort in the changing ideals of the time; Holmes was the New England Democritus, the "laughing philosopher", exulting in change.¹ One was unhopeful and plaintive; the other was buoyant with excess of spirit. How two minds thus widely dissimilar can form consecutive links in the history of introspection is not at once obvious. But it will become obvious if we revert to our method of looking for uniformity beneath the surface. Puritanism and transcendentalism, one gloomy, the other over-enthusiastic, are superficially unlike; but we found that through both ran the hope of some great unknown good to be discovered by introspection. The melancholy of Hawthorne and the optimism of Holmes are phases of the same great hope. Holmes is a continuator of the New England tradition, but with him the moral interest is replaced; the hope of introspection is now to make discoveries in the field of the intuitions and the subconscious.

Holmes had much of Emerson's optimism,² but much that Emerson

1. The distinction between these two types of mind was sometimes made by Holmes himself. In the life of Emerson (p. 63) he writes: "The hatred of unreality was uppermost with Carlyle; the love of what is real and genuine with Emerson. Those old moralists, the weeping and the laughing philosophers, find their counterparts in every thinking community."

2. Holmes wrote a life of Emerson, and makes elsewhere numerous references to his work. For example, in the introduction to A Mortal Antipathy (p. 17) he speaks thus of Emerson: "For many months I have been living in daily relations of intimacy with one who seems nearer to me since he has left us than while he was here in living form and feature. . . I trust that the influence of this long intellectual and spiritual companionship never absolutely leaves one". . .

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had called spiritual he interpreted as psychological. He put the transcendental ecstasies into plain prose. Emerson glowingly described certain facts of human nature in poetic language; Holmes was reasonably certain about the facts of human nature, but he had a different explanation.¹ Emerson had enthusiasm for the over-soul; Holmes had almost equal enthusiasm for the subconscious powers of the mind; he treated Emerson's phenomena on a lower plane. I can represent my idea in diagrammatic form if the reader will imagine three planes, one above the other, planes which we may call (beginning at the top) the supernatural, the transcendental, and the subconscious. The early New England religious thinkers hoped for supernatural revelations from God. Emerson had similar hopes for an influx of strength and power; but he based the hope, not on supernatural intervention, but on an over-soul acting through nature. He thought that he had found a natural ground for supernatural expectations; he thought the old hopes were possible of attainment on a new plane. Hence came the expansive enthusiasm of transcendental days. But Holmes, writing more than a decade after the day of enthusiasm, came under the influence of science. To him (as I shall later show) transcendentalism appeared as "supernatural" as the

1. Contrast the following lines from Emerson and Holmes. The first quotation is from "The Over-Soul". "When I watch that flowing river, which, out of regions I see not, pours for a season its streams into me, I see that I am a pensioner; not a cause, but a surprised spectator of this ethereal water; that I desire and look up, and put myself in the attitude of reception, but from some alien energy the visions come." The second quotation is from Holmes' "Mechanism in Thought and Morals", Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 276. After asking, "Are there any mental processes of which we are unconscious at the time, but which we recognize as having taken place by finding certain results in our minds?" The answer is: "Unconscious activity is the rule with the actions most important to life." There exists what may be called "latent consciousness", "obscure perceptions", "unconscious cerebration", "reflex action of the brain".

visions of Jonathan Edwards or Cotton Mather. He, like the others, believed in the existence of latent powers; that man has strength and capacities which await development. He explained an accession of power, not by some over-soul, some reservoir of spiritual energy; but by the existence in the mind of "subliminal", "unconscious", or "subconscious" forces. He thought, as Emerson had thought before him, that the old hopes of New England might still be realized on a lower plane of experience.¹

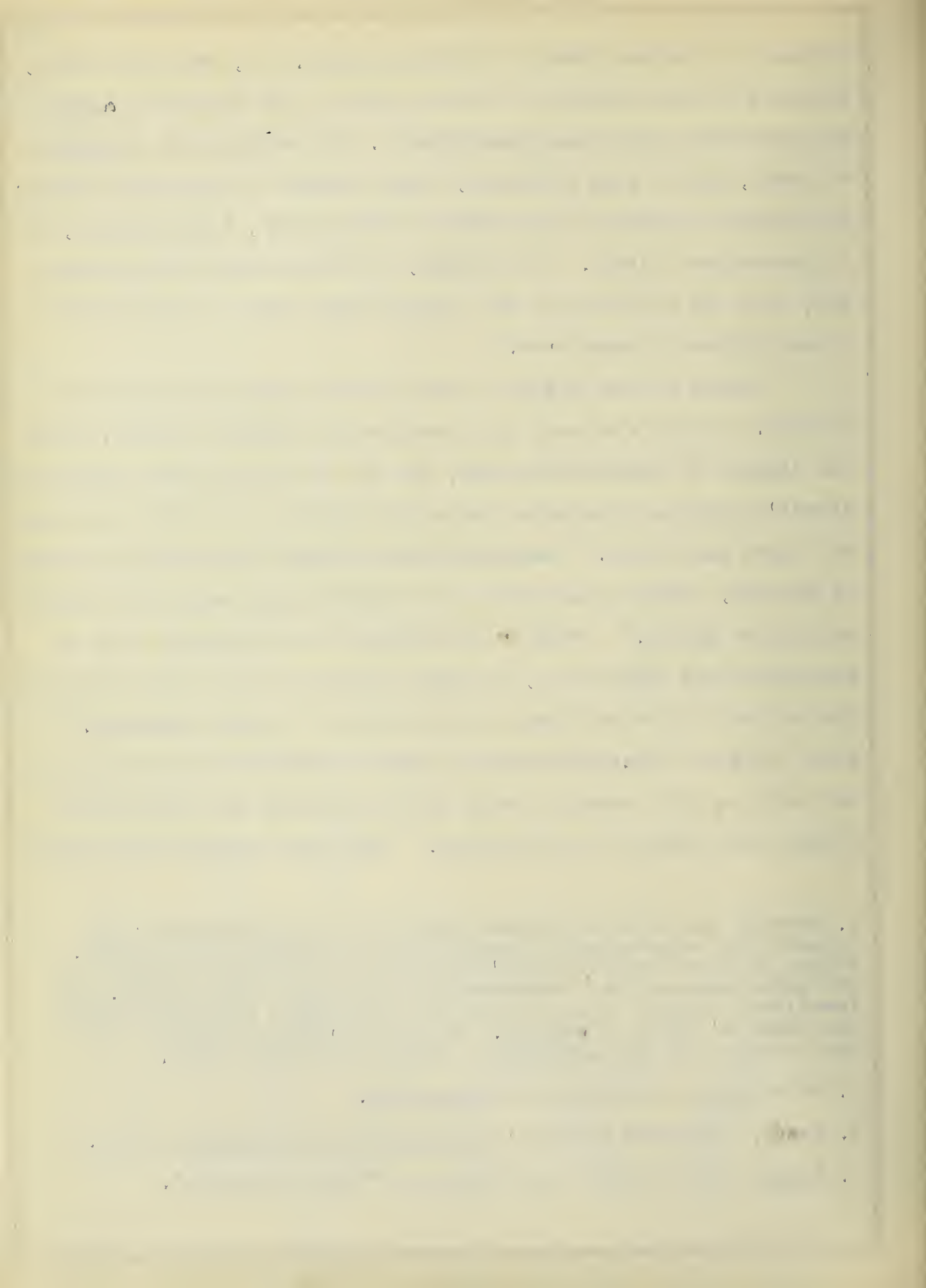
Holmes was not alone in this; it was a general mutation of thought. The drift of many introspective New England writers, after the decline of transcendentalism, was out of religion into psychology. Alcott's mystical utterances had more and more to say about instinct and sleep and dreams.² Margaret Fuller outgrew the moral philosophy of Emerson, turned to esthetics, and increasingly hunted the hidden springs of genius.³ Thoreau scrutinized the instinctive acts of partridges and mud-turtles, and went through the pine woods sniffing the air as if he were always on the brink of a great discovery.⁴ Even when the transcendentalists spoke in elevated style of spiritual matters, they commonly based their reasoning upon facts which belong more properly to psychology. Even their symbols are capable

1. Emerson disliked the Puritan belief in the supernatural; he thought his transcendental ideas were in conformity with nature. Holmes in turn thought Emerson's mysticism to be supernatural; his own explanation of the "subconscious" he thought was natural. It immediately occurs to one to ask whether Holmes' explanation does not savor of the supernatural. But this question belongs to the next chapter; it was asked and answered by William James.

2. Particularly his late work Table Talk.

3. Braun, Frederick Augustus; Margaret Fuller and Goethe, Chap. 3.

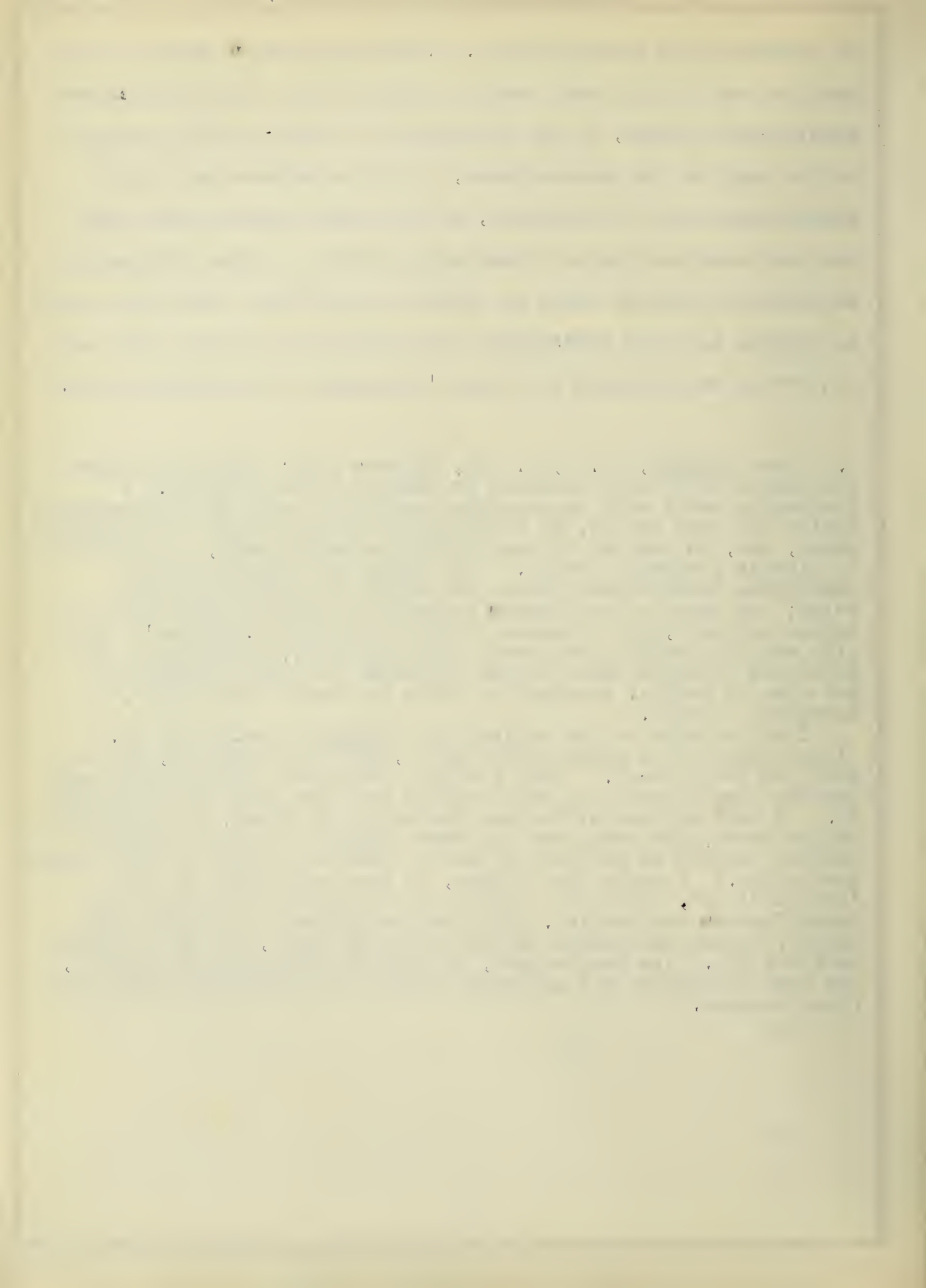
4. Walden, particularly the chapter on "Brute Neighbors".



of psychological interpretation. Thus when Thoreau speaks in his mystical way of the great depth of Walden Pond, fed by mysterious underground springs, of the fascination to feel the fish tugging at the cord in the unknown deeps, of the seventeen-year locust which creeps out of the ground, of the cellar and the well which are the roots and longest remaining evidence of human habitation--- he evidently intends these as symbols of spiritual facts; yet there is nothing in these underground and subterranean symbols that cannot better be explained by Holmes' doctrine of the subconscious.¹

1. In his Journal, Vol. 2, p. 213, Thoreau says: "My most sacred and memorable life is commonly on awaking in the morning. I frequently awake with an atmosphere about me as if my unremembered dreams had been divine, as if my spirit had journeyed to its native place, and, in the act of reentering its native body, had diffused an Elysian fragrance around." Now there is nothing in this experience which Holmes could not explain in a few reasonable words; but observe how Thoreau dresses the psychological fact in ornate language, and attaches a spiritual meaning. Thoreau's real gift was for studying squirrels and woodchucks, and Emerson had given his genius a twist toward idealism, so that the man did not clearly realize whether the prize he sought was earthly, or heavenly, or both.

The quotation at the beginning of Walden is very curious. "I long ago lost a hound, a bay horse, and a turtle-dove, and am still on their trail. Many are the travellers I have spoken concerning them, describing their tracks and what calls they answered to. I have met one or two who had heard the hound, and the tramp of the horse, and even seen the dove disappear behind a cloud, and they seemed as anxious to recover them as if they had lost them themselves." I think that Holmes, in his exploration of the "subconscious", discovered nearly all the mysterious things for which Thoreau was looking. If I may be allowed to continue the symbol, Holmes discovered the bay trotting horse, and got at least half the dog. The turtle-dove, which represents, we may suppose, the more intangible and spiritual aspect of transcendentalism, had flown forever.

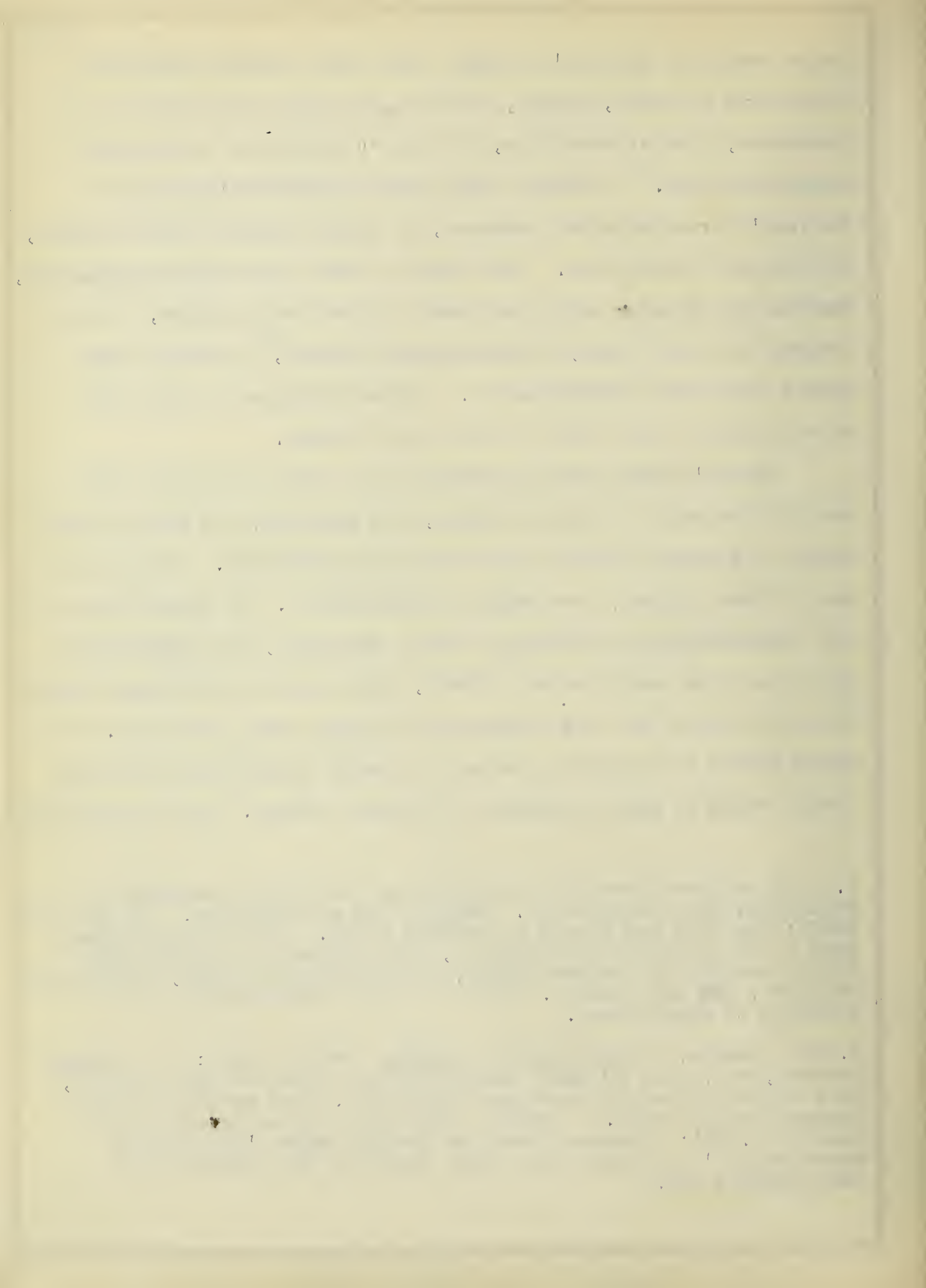


Every reader of Emerson's essays must have observed frequent references to sleep, dreams, instinct, and even more occult phenomena, such as mesmerism, and the "unconscious" actions of animals and men.¹ Whether these facts of psychology proved Emerson's transcendental theories, or really proved something else, we need not debate here. Our point is that the transcendentalists, Emerson and Thoreau among the number, often had glimpses, far in advance of their times, of psychological truths,² to which they gave a spiritual interpretation. Holmes undertook to make the psychological facts stand on their own bottoms.

Holmes' ideas were in advance of his times; but his taste was for the past --- for old china, old pictures, old books, old wines, old people who had outlived their generation. He loved the past of New England, even when he satirized it. He looked back on the transcendental enthusiasts with a skeptical, yet sympathetic grin, as if he wanted to say, "Well, yes; you are nine-tenths right about the facts, but the explanation is other than you think." He could afford to be genial; he had the means whereby the over-soul itself could be made a subject of rational belief. He went about as

1. I do not mean that Emerson exhibited the drift from moral to psychological introspection. Emerson was an exception. He did not drift; his view was always profoundly moral. The only development that I can discover in Emerson is, that whereas his early work treats largely of abstract ideas, his later work treats, in addition to ideas, men and history. Even here, the development is not striking or significant.

2. For example, in The American Scholar Emerson says: "A strange process, too, this by which experience is converted into thought, as a mulberry leaf is converted into satin. The manufacture goes forward at all hours." Holmes comments on these lines in his memoir (p. 85): "Emerson does not use the words 'unconscious cerebration,' but these last words describe the process in an unmistakable way."

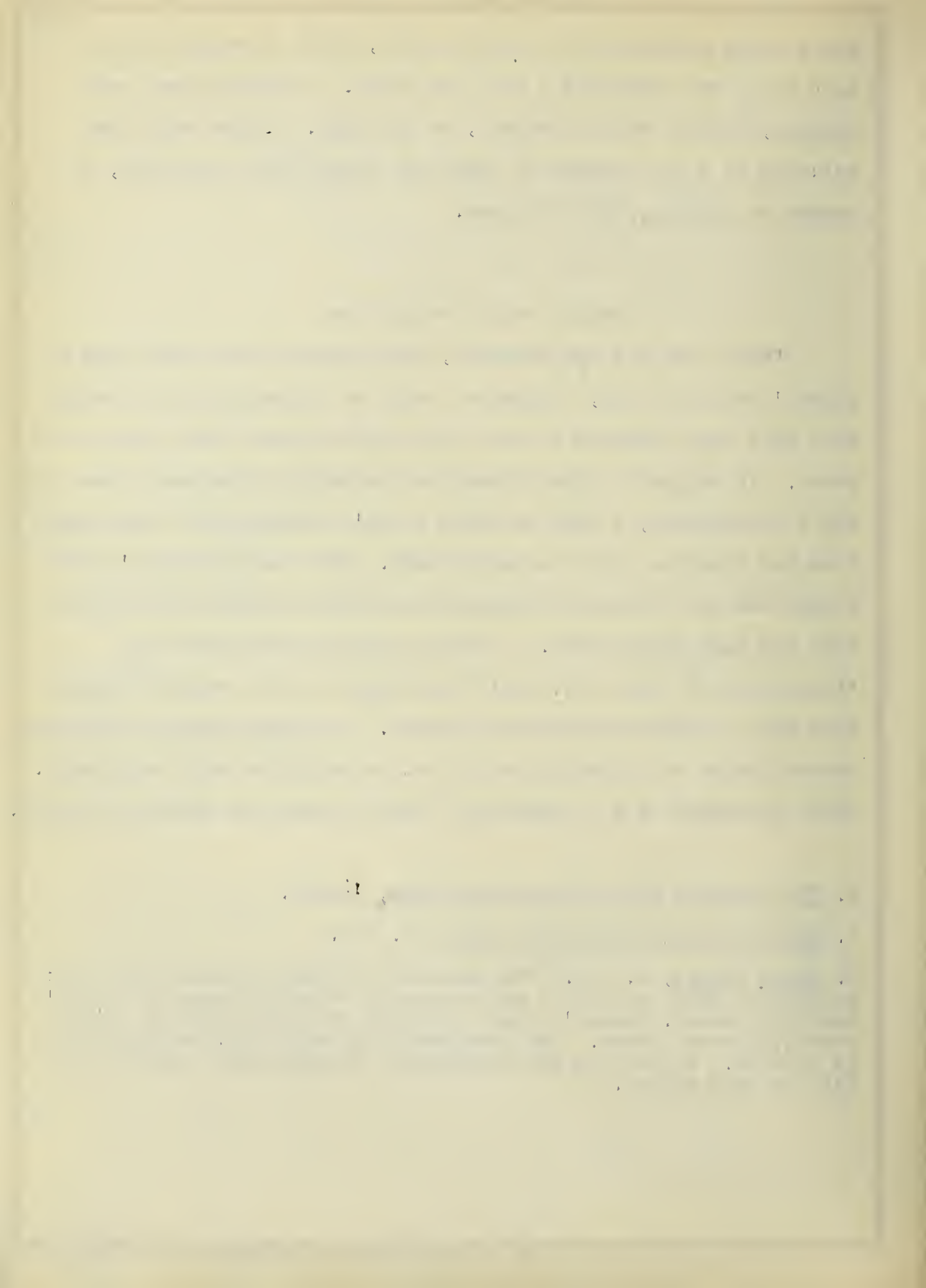


one who was possessed of a happy secret, which he would tell as soon as he had collected a few more facts. Hawthorne was sad because, losing the old beliefs, he had none. Holmes was high-spirited as a boy because he found new ideas which justified, or seemed to justify, the old hopes.

Holmes and Introspection

"Every man his own Boswell", the phrase on the title page of Holmes' earliest book,¹ suggests a work of introspection; it might well have been repeated on the title page of every book Holmes ever wrote. It suggests a feat which the New England mind was always trying to accomplish, a feat by which a man's ordinary self stood apart from and examined into his deeper self. But the introspection of Holmes was not the moral introspection which pervaded New England life for many generations. Holmes expressly denounced the "insanities of those self-analyzing diarists whose morbid reveries have been so often mistaken for piety".² In Elsie Venner he devotes several pages to a discussion of what he calls the sick conscience.³ Three paragraphs are so important that they must be quoted at length.

1. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, (1858).
2. The Poet at the Breakfast Table, p. 215.
3. Elsie Venner, p. 169. The occasion for the discussion is this: Holmes has been describing an overtasked schoolmistress in a girl's boarding school. Holmes' books are full of these delicate, high-strung, nervous women. The readiness with which his heroines faint is notable. Any writer who studies New England women should not fail to read Holmes.



"When the nervous energy is depressed by any bodily cause, or exhausted by overworking, there follow effects which have often been misinterpreted by moralists and especially by theologians. The conscience itself becomes neuralgic, sometimes actually inflamed, so that the least touch is agony. Of all liars and false accusers, a sick conscience is the most inventive and indefatigable. The devoted daughter, wife, mother, whose life has been given to unselfish labors, who has filled a place which it seemed to others only an angel would make good, reproaches herself with incompetence and neglect of duty. The humble Christian, who has been a model to others, calls himself a worm of the dust on one page of his diary, and arraigns himself on the next for coming short of the perfection of an archangel.

"Conscience itself requires a conscience, or nothing can be more unscrupulous. It told Saul that he did well in persecuting the Christians. It has goaded countless multitudes of various creeds to endless forms of self-torture. The cities of India are full of cripples it has made. The hill-sides of Syria are riddled with holes, where miserable hermits, whose lives it had palsied, lived and died like the vermin they harbored. Our libraries are crammed with books written by spiritual hypochondriacs, who inspected all their moral secretions a dozen times a day. They are full of interest, but they should be transferred from the shelf of the theologian to that of the medical man who makes a study of insanity.

"This was the state into which too much work and too much responsibility were bringing Helen Darley, when the new master came and lifted so much of the burden that was crushing her as must be removed before she could have a chance to recover her natural elasticity and buoyancy. Many of the noblest women, suffering like

her, but less fortunate in being relieved at the right moment, die worried out of life by the perpetual teasing of this inflamed, neuralgic conscience. So subtle is the line which separates the true and almost angelic sensibility of a healthy, but exalted nature, from the soreness of a soul which is sympathizing with a morbid state of the body that it is no wonder they are often confounded. And thus many good women are suffered to perish by that form of spontaneous combustion in which the victim goes on toiling day and night with the hidden fire consuming her, until all at once her cheek whitens, and, as we look upon her, she drops away, a heap of white ashes."

In his study of ~~Jonathan~~ Edwards he speaks more specifically of the vices of Puritanism. "Perpetual self-inspection leads to spiritual hypochondriasis. If a man insists on counting his pulse twenty times a day, on looking at his tongue every hour or two, on taking his temperature with the thermometer morning and evening, on weighing himself three or four times a week, he will soon find himself in a doubtful state of bodily health. It is just so with those who are perpetually counting their spiritual pulse, taking the temperature of their feelings, weighing their human and necessarily imperfect characters against the infinite perfections placed in the other scale of the balance.

"These melancholy diarists remind one of children in their little gardens, planting a bean or a lupine-seed in the morning, and pulling it up in the evening to see if it has sprouted or how it is getting on. The diarist pulls his character up by the roots every evening, and finds the soil of human nature, --- the humus, --- out of which it must needs grow, clinging to its radicles. Then

he mourns over himself . . . and soon becomes a fit subject for medical treatment, having lost all wholesome sense of the world about him and of his own personality."¹

Neither is the introspection of Holmes that of the transcendentalist, or the romantic poet. Holmes was distrustful of poetic effusions. "I want to see the young people in our schools and academies and colleges . . . lifted up out of the little Dismal Swamp of self-contemplating and self-indulging and self-commiserating emotionalism".² His sympathies were with classical literature, rather than with "the dreamily sensuous idealists who belong to the same century that brought in ether and chloroform".³ He disposes of Wordsworth's Ode on the Intimations of Immortality in a few words "The cloud of glory which the babe brings with it into the world is a good set of instincts, which dispose it to accept moral and intellectual truths, --- not the truths themselves."⁴ In the same way he says of the Platonic doctrines of Emerson: "That the organ of the mind brings with it inherited aptitudes is a simple matter of observation. That it inherits truths is a different proposition.

1. Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 397. There are other references in Holmes' work, from a medical rather than a moral point of view, to the type of person who is too much engrossed in studying his internal mechanisms. For example: "The poor fellow had cultivated symptoms as other people cultivate roses or chrysanthemums. What a luxury of choice his imagination presented to him! When one watches for symptoms, every organ in the body is ready to put in its claim." --- Over the Teacups, p. 187

2. A Mortal Antipathy, p. 293. The words are put in the mouth of one of the characters; but it is sufficiently clear that Holmes subscribes to them.

3. The Guardian Angel, p. 203. On the same page, through one of the characters, he speaks of "your Keatses, and your Tennysons, and the whole Hasheesh crazy lot".

4. Emerson, p. 304.

The eye does not bring landscapes into the world on its retina, --- why should the brain bring thoughts?¹ He holds that Emerson "cannot properly be called a psychologist . . . He was a man of intuition, of insight, a seer, a poet, with a tendency to mysticism."²

Holmes was emancipated from Puritan and transcendental doctrines; he saw clearly their futilities and excesses; but the fact remains that Holmes was himself introspective to an extreme degree. He was never exactly caught in its tentacles; he was, so to speak, a professor of introspection; he made experiments; he abandoned himself to it, and returned to analyze his discoveries. As was the case with Hawthorne, Holmes is interested in the more faint and delicate movements of the mind; he continually omits the crude and records the subtle impression. He likes to record the sounds that

1. Emerson, p. 303.

2. Emerson, p. 301.

verge on silence,¹ certain odors which arouse memories or result in some almost imperceptible unconscious action,² the slight fluctuations in the tone of a conversation at the breakfast table

1. "Keep your ears open any time after midnight, when you are lying in bed in a lone attic of a dark night. What horrid, strange, suggestive, unaccountable noises you will hear! The stillness of night is a vulgar error. All the dead things seem to be alive. Crack! That is the old chest of drawers; you never hear it crack in the daytime. Creak! There's a door ajar; you know you shut them all. Where can that latch be that rattles so? Is anybody trying it softly? or, worse than any body, is ---?" And so on, with an elaborate account of one's subjective fears. --- The Professor at the Breakfast Table, p. 163.

See also The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, p. 211.

"Certain sounds had a mysterious suggestiveness to me . . . the creaking of the wood-sleds, bringing their loads of oak and walnut from the country, as the slow-swinging oxen trailed them along over the complaining snow, in the cold, brown light of early morning. . . The Puritan 'Sabbath,' as everybody knows, began at 'sundown' on Saturday evening . . . It was in this stillness of the world without and of the soul within that the pulsating lullaby of the evening crickets used to make itself most distinctly heard --- so that I well remembered I used to think that the purring of these little creatures . . . was peculiar to Saturday evenings. . . Another sound . . mingled its solemn cadences with the waking and sleeping dreams of my boyhood . . . the sound of the waves, after a high wind, breaking on the long beaches many miles distant. . . Mingling with these inarticulate sounds in the low murmur of memory, are the echoes of certain voices I have heard at rare intervals."

2. "Memory, imagination, old sentiments and associations, are more readily reached through the sense of smell than by almost any other channel. . . . The smell of phosphorus . . fires this train of associations . . . Then there is the marigold. . Cottage, garden-beds . . the breath of a marigold brings them all back to me. Perhaps the herb everlasting . . has the most suggestive odor to me of all those that set me dreaming. I can hardly describe the strange thoughts and emotions that come to me as I inhale the aroma of its pale, dry, rustling flowers . . . I sometimes think the less the hint that stirs the automatic machinery of association, the more easily this moves us." --- The Autocrat, p. 75-79.

"Every human being, as well as every other living organism, carries its own distinguishing atmosphere." --- A Mortal Antipathy, p. vi.

as the thought takes an unexpected turn.¹ He likes to note the onset or dawn of an idea, the gradual development in his own consciousness of a notion, fear, or prejudice; or the growing comprehension, in the mind of another person, of one of his excruciating puns.² He likes to note the earliest beginnings of love affairs,³ for, as he says, "one need not wait to see the smoke coming through the roof of a house and the flames breaking out of the windows to know that the building is on fire."⁴

More than all Holmes likes to discover novelty in the commonplace, to give the psychological aspect of familiar things. The nearest fact serves his purpose; it is, say, the weather; the irritability and peculiar extension of the sphere of consciousness that come with a hot July day. "Long, stinging cry of a locust comes from a tree, half a mile off; had forgotten there was such a tree. Baby's screams from a house several blocks distant; --- never knew there were any babies in the neighborhood before. Tinman pounding something that clatters dreadfully, --- very distinct, but don't remember any tinman's shop near by."⁵ Or his theme is

1. "Did you never, in riding through the woods of a still June evening, suddenly feel that you had passed into a warm stratum of air, and in a minute or two strike the chill layer of atmosphere beyond? . . . Just so, . . . one not unfrequently finds a sudden change in the style of conversation." --- The Autocrat, p. 65.

2. "I watched for the effect of this sudden change of programme, when it should reach the calm stillness of the Model's interior apprehension, as a boy watches for the splash of a stone which he has dropped into a well." --- The Professor, p. 138.

3. Over the Teacups, p. 79. There are many instances.

4. The Professor, p. 158.

5. The Autocrat, p. 302.

memory, that "crazy witch of a Memory", wise, foolish and deceitful by turns¹. Or he follows the mental processes of the boarders at the breakfast table, watching the movements of their ideas as if they were movements in a game of chess.² He deliberately limits his field; he ordinarily reduces the setting of his story to its simplest elements; a plain boarding house, with ordinary cups and plates, and ordinary people seated about. And from these common facts he manages to extract common but surprising truths.

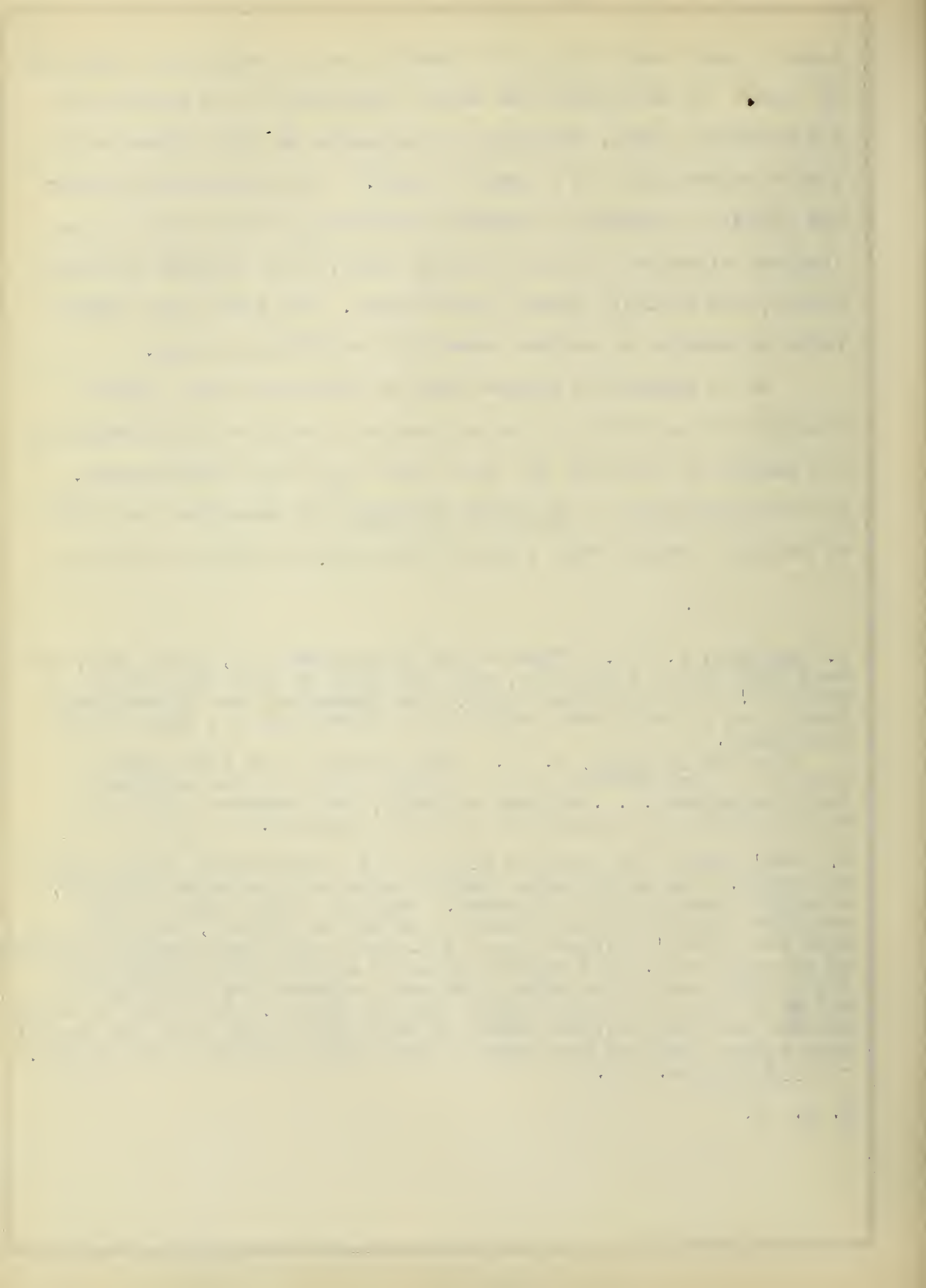
He is especially pleased when he can uncover the latent thoughts of his hearers, the impressions that have long simmered in the depths of the mind, but never come into full consciousness. In the introduction to A Mortal Antipathy³ he describes two kinds of authors, one who "has a story that everybody wants to hear,---

1. The Poet, p. 219. "What an odd thing memory is, to be sure, to have kept such a triviality, and have lost so much that was invaluable! She is a crazy wench, that Mnemosyne; she throws her jewels out of the window and locks up straws and old rags in her strong box."

Also The Autocrat, p. 31. "The rapidity with which ideas grow old in our memories is in a direct ratio to the squares of their importance. . . A great calamity, for instance, is as old as the trilobites an hour after it has happened."

2. "Men's minds are like the pieces on a chess-board in their way of moving. One mind creeps from the square it is on to the next, straight forward, like the pawns. Another sticks close to its own line of thought and follows it as far as it goes, with no heed for others' opinions, as the bishop sweeps the board in the line of his own color. And another class of minds break through everything that lies before them, ride over argument and opposition, and go to the end of the board, like the castle. But there is still another sort of intellect which is very apt to jump over the thought that stands next and come down in the unexpected way of the knight."
----The Poet, p. 220.

3. p. 12.



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if he has been shipwrecked, or has been in a battle, or has witnessed any interesting event", and another who "can put in fitting words any common experiences not already well told, so that readers will say, 'Why, yes! I have had that sensation, thought, emotion, a hundred times, but I never heard it spoken of before, and I never saw any mention of it in print .' " Holmes obviously belongs to the latter class. A shipwreck or battle was the last thing he wanted to describe; he did want his commonplace narration to strike deep into the consciousness of his reader, to take root there. "It gives many readers a singular pleasure to find a writer telling them something they have long known or felt, but which they have never before found any one to put in words for them."¹

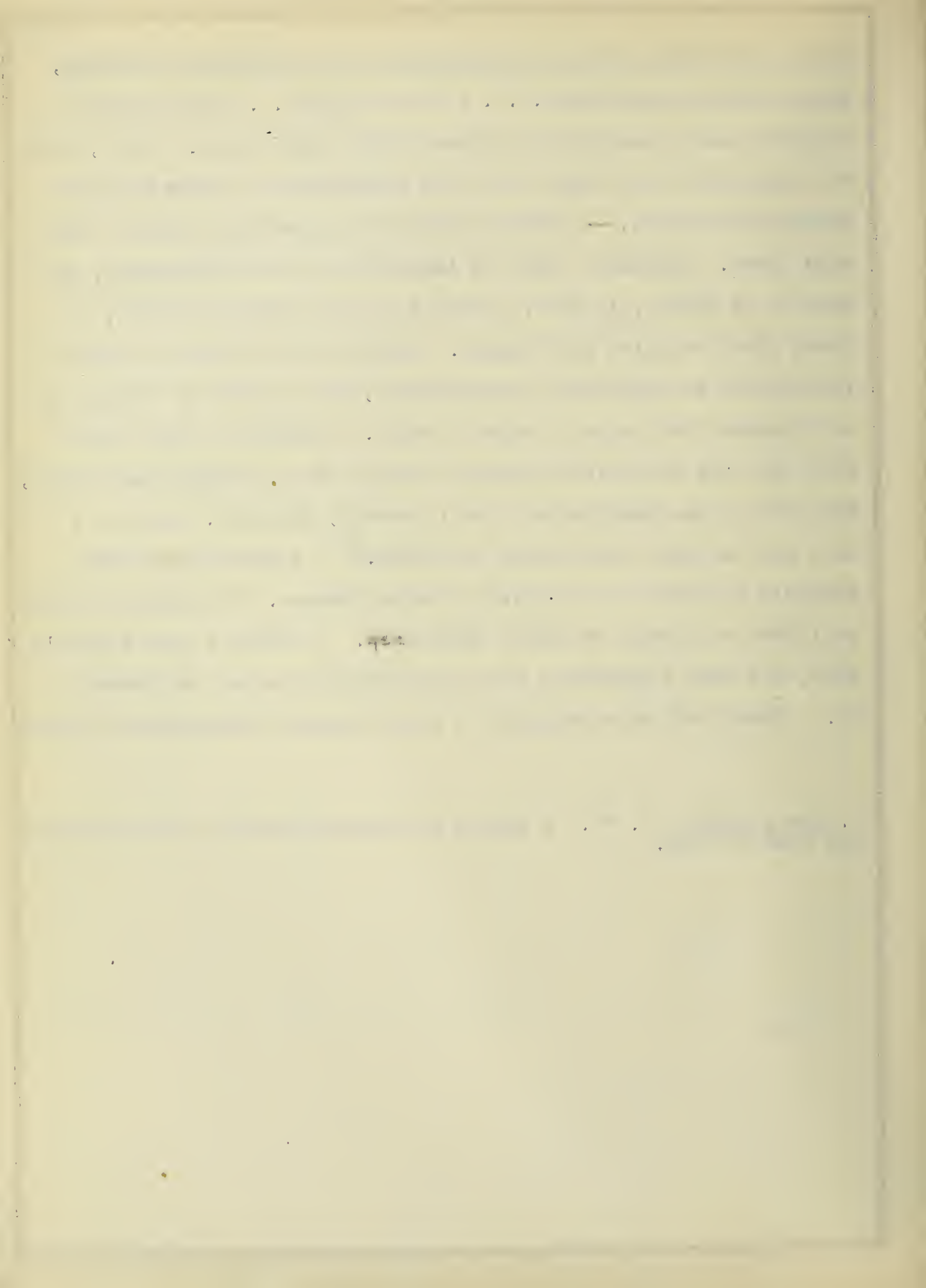
It is well to recall a few illustrations. There is the familiar experience which Holmes aptly named twin thoughts. "There are about as many twins in the births of thoughts as of children. For the first time in your lives you learn some fact or come across some idea. Within an hour, a day, a week, that same fact or idea strikes you from another quarter. It seems as if it had passed into space and bounded back upon you as an echo from the blank wall that shuts in the world of thought. . . It has happened to me and to every person, often and often, to be hit in rapid succession by these twinned facts or thoughts, as if they were linked like chain-shot."² A similar experience is that of the idea-we-have-had-before. "All at once a conviction flashes through us that we have

1. Over the Teacups, p. 10.

2. The Professor, p. 56.

been in the same precise circumstances as at the present instant,
once or many times before. . . I have noticed . . the following
circumstances connected with these sudden impressions. First, that
the condition which seems to be the duplicate of a former one is
often very trivial, — one that might have presented itself a hun-
dred times. Secondly, that the impression is very evanescent, and
that it is rarely, if ever, recalled by any voluntary effort, at
least after any time has elapsed. Thirdly, that there is a dis-
inclination to record the circumstances, and a sense of incapacity
to reproduce the state of mind in words. Fourthly, I have often
felt that the duplicate condition had not only occurred once before,
but that it was familiar and, as it seemed, habitual. Lastly, I
have had the same convictions in dreams."¹ A more complicated
analysis is that of the layers of consciousness. "My thoughts flow
in layers or strata, at least three ~~deep~~. I follow a slow person's
talk, and keep a perfectly clear under-current of my own beneath
it. Under both runs obscurely a consciousness belonging to a third

1. The Autocrat, p. 73. A number of explanations for the experience
are then offered.



train of reflections, independent of the two others."¹ "I observe that a deep layer of thought sometimes makes itself felt through the superincumbent strata, thus: --- The usual single or double currents shall flow on, but there shall be an influence blending with them, disturbing them in an obscure way, until all at once I say, --- Oh, there! I knew there was something troubling me, --- and the thought which had been working through comes up to the surface clear, definite, and articulates itself, --- a disagreeable duty, perhaps, or an unpleasant recollection."

Sometimes the vague but powerful impression that lies at the bottom of consciousness is fear. Such was the misfortune of a woman sick with hidden grief. "She felt that she was no longer to her husband what she had been to him, and felt it with something

- 1. "I will try to write out a Mental movement in three parts.
 - A. --- First voice, or Mental Soprano, --- thought follows a woman talking.
 - B. --- Second voice, or Mental Barytone, --- my running accompaniment.
 - C. --- Third voice, or Mental Basso, --- low grumble of an importunate self-repeating idea.
- A. --- White lace, three skirts, looped with flowers, wreath of apple-blossoms, gold bracelets, diamond pin and ear-rings, the most delicious berthe you ever saw, white satin slippers ---
- B. --- Deuse take her! What a fool she is! Hear her chatter! (Look out of window just here. --- Two pages and a half of description, if it were all written out, in one tenth of a second.) --- Go ahead, old lady! (Eye catches picture over fireplace.) There's that infernal family nose! Came over in the 'Mayflower' on the first old fool's face. Why don't they wear a ring in it?
- C. --- You'll be late at lecture, --- late at lecture, --- late, --- late, --- late ---

of self-reproach, --- which was a wrong to herself, for she had been a true and tender wife. Deeper than all the rest was still another feeling, which had hardly risen into the region of inwardly articulated thought, but lay unshaped beneath all the syllabled trains of sleeping or waking consciousness."¹ This was the feeling that her husband was unfaithful.

Sometimes the vague impression is a great hope, a hope which may pervade a whole life without becoming articulate. Holmes gives several pages to what he calls the Great Secret. "It is in the hearts of many men and women --- let me add children --- that there is a Great Secret waiting for them, --- a secret of which they get hints now and then, perhaps oftener in early than in later years. These hints come sometimes in dreams, sometimes in sudden startling flashes, --- second wakings, as it were, --- a waking out of the waking state, which last is very apt to be a half-sleep. I have many times stopped short and held my breath, and felt the blood leaving my cheeks, in one of these sudden clairvoyant flashes. Of course, I cannot tell what kind of a secret this is, but I think of it as a disclosure of certain relations of our personal being to time and space, to other intelligences, to the procession of events, and to their First Great Cause. This secret seems to be broken up, as it were, into fragments, so that we find here a word and there a syllable, and then again only a letter of it; but it never is written out for most of us as a complete sentence, in this life.

1. The Guardian Angel, p. 147.

I do not think it could be; for I am disposed to consider our beliefs about such a possible disclosure rather as a kind of premonition of an enlargement of our faculties in some future state than as an expectation to be fulfilled for most of us in this life."¹ We are assured that this great secret is not love. "It lies deeper than love, though very probably Love is a part of it. Some, I think, --- Wordsworth might be one of them, --- spell out a portion of it from certain beautiful natural objects . . . I cannot translate it into words, --- only into feelings . . . that revelation of something we are close to knowing, which all imaginative persons are looking for either in this world or on the very threshold of the next."² We are not given to understand what the secret is except by symbols. "You must have sometimes noted this fact that I am going to remind you of and to use for a special illustration. Riding along over a rocky road, suddenly the slow monotonous grinding of the crushing gravel changes to a deep heavy rumble. There is a great hollow under your feet, --- a huge unsunned cavern. Deep, deep beneath you in the core of the living rock, it arches its awful vault, and far away it stretches its winding galleries, their roofs dripping into streams where fishes have been swimming and spawning in the dark until their scales are white as milk and their eyes have withered out, obsolete and useless.

"So it is in life. We jog quietly along, meeting the same faces, grinding over the same thoughts, --- the gravel of the soul's

1. The Professor, p. 177.

2. p. 180.

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highway, --- now and then jarred against an obstacle we cannot crush, but must ride over or around as best we may, sometimes bringing short up against a disappointment, but still working along with the creaking and rattling and grating and jerking that belong to the journey of life, even in the smoothest-rolling vehicle. Suddenly we hear the deep underground reverberation that reveals the unsuspected depth of some abyss of thought or passion beneath us."¹

What the Great Secret is Holmes does not say, except through such metaphors as this one of the cave. This much at least is plain: that there are depths in human nature, greater than we, in ordinary moments, are aware of; that some inkling of these underground forces, some vague consciousness of their presence, gives us certain inarticulate hopes and aspirations, an expectation of an unknown good which is soon or sometime to befall us. The great secret is not unlike the great hope about which Hawthorne wrote so vaguely and so often; it is not unlike those uneasy stirrings and vague expectations that haunted the New England mind for many generations.

If now we return to Holmes' statement about the "singular pleasure" which readers find in an author who tells them "something they have never before found any one to put in words for them", the quotation takes a new significance. Holmes did more than interpret people's thoughts; he translated into psychology some of the

deeper instincts of New England. His popularity in his own time and to this day is due, in part, to the fact that he rationalized or made intelligible what many perturbed minds had long felt in a groping and unenlightened way. In the introduction to Over the Teacups¹ he states clearly an idea which he had often alluded to before. "The latch-key which opens into the inner chambers of my consciousness fits, as I have sufficient reason to believe, the private apartments of a good many other people's thoughts. The longer we live, the more we find we are like other persons."² When I meet with any facts in my own mental experience, I feel almost sure that I shall find them repeated or anticipated in the writings or the conversation of others." This statement is true in a general sense; and it is very true in one specific sense, more true perhaps than the writer himself realized, that the consciousness to which he held the key was the New England consciousness. Holmes was more than the Boswell of his own mind; he was the Boswell of the New England mind, and he might have written De te fabula at the end of every book. His chief contribution to the history of introspection,

1. p. 10. Over the Teacups, published in 1890, was Holmes' last work.

2. This is a favorite idea with Holmes, and closely allied to it is the idea that human nature falls into types. This idea of the uniformity of human nature he may get partly from classical literature (of which he was a notable admirer), and partly from the study of medicine. He represents doctors as classifying their patients, and being able to predict, before a child is born, what infirmities and diseases will fall upon it in old age. See The Guardian Angel, p. 129.

his exploration of the unconscious or involuntary workings of the mind, we shall now study with more detail.

The Subconscious

More than twenty-five years Holmes mused on the ideas which form his best-known work, The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,¹ and during these years the thought of New England had been through more than one revolution. When Holmes, an unripe lad just out of college, contributed his premature essays to the New England Magazine in 1831, the Unitarian movement had not yet reached its height, Emerson had not left his pulpit in Boston, and only the earliest signs of the transcendental spring were in the air. It was a time of enthusiasm, which might well tempt a young writer into print; but it was also a time of controversy, a poor time for a young man to formulate ideas hastily, especially if his sympathies were with the new views, and his father happened to be a conservative clergyman.² It was a very poor time for autocrats, and it is not surprising therefore that the youthful dictator of the breakfast table,

1. Holmes published two articles entitled "The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table" in the New England Magazine, for November, 1831, and February, 1832. When in 1858 he was asked to write for the Atlantic Monthly, he began the new Breakfast-Table series with a pleasant conversational allusion to the lapse of time: "I was just going to say, when I was interrupted,"

2. Crothers, Samuel McChord: Oliver Wendell Holmes, p. 3. "Rev. Abiel Holmes, minister of the First Church in Cambridge, was a man of distinction in his profession. A lover of the old ways, he took the conservative side in the controversy which divided his parish. In the old gambrel-roofed house the minister's son heard much argument about theology. Though he drifted away from the doctrines of his father, he never lost interest in the discussions of matters of faith."

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after a brief and timid exercise of his power, should retire into a long silence. The silence was fortunate in one way, for Holmes' ideas ripened slowly, and required a long period of incubation.¹ Whatever the cause, Holmes' philosophic ideas lay dormant, or at least inaudible, through the storm and stress of the Unitarian controversy, through the rise and decline of transcendental enthusiasm, through the period, in the early fifties, when Hawthorne wrote his best work, and voiced his reaction against delusive hopes. During this period the man was enlarging his knowledge of human nature by his service as a physician and professor of anatomy in the medical school of Harvard University. He published a few volumes of verse, and a few medical essays, but nothing to indicate any deep drift of his ideas. Then, about the year 1858, he suddenly began talking philosophy, and talked almost incessantly through seventy-three

1. The Guardian Angel, p. 404. "The best thought, like the most perfect digestion, is done unconsciously. . . . Be aye sticking in an idea, --- while you're sleeping it'll be growing. Seed of a thought today, --- flower to-morrow --- next week --- ten years from now, etc. --- Article by and by . . ."

See also The Autocrat, p. 82. "Men often remind me of pears in their way of coming to maturity. Some are ripe at twenty, like human Jargonelles, and must be made the most of, for their day is soon over. Some come into their perfect condition late, like the autumn kinds, and they last better than the summer fruit. And some, that, like the Winter-Nelis, have been hard and uninviting until all the rest have had their season, get their glow, and perfume long after the frost and snow have done their worst with the orchards."

I think it is often true that an introspective writer requires a long period of preparation. Wordsworth is the classical example. And Hawthorne said (English Note-Books, Vol. 2, p. 56): "I am slow to feel, --- slow, I suppose, to comprehend, and, like the anaconda, I need to lubricate any object a great deal before I can swallow it and actually make it my own."

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volumes of the Atlantic Monthly.¹

In the opening pages of the Autocrat the idea of the subconscious begins to make itself felt, gradually at first, coming to the surface now in an anecdote, now in an epigram, the author all the while, to judge by the outward appearance, talking about something else. On the first page occurs a passing mention of Leibnitz and Thomas Reid, an interesting bit of fact, inasmuch as the author, twelve years later, was to write an essay in which he traced the philosophy of the subconscious back to Leibnitz. After a few pages occurs the anecdote of the man who made the same speech twice. The passage has been so often quoted that there is no harm in quoting it again. "A certain lecturer, after performing in an inland city, where dwells a Litteratrice of note, was invited to meet her and others over the social teacup. She pleasantly referred to his many wanderings in his new occupation. 'Yes,' he replied, 'I am like the Huma, the bird that never lights, being always in the cars, as he is always on the wing.' --- Years elapsed. The lecturer visited the same place once more for the same purpose. Another social cup after the lecture, and a second meeting with the distinguished lady. 'You are constantly going from place to place,' she said. --- 'Yes,' he answered, 'I am like the Huma,' --- and

1. Of the first sixty volumes of the Atlantic, Holmes contributed to all but four, and of the remaining thirteen which appeared in his lifetime (Holmes died in October, 1894) he contributed to all but six. See Ives, George B.: A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes, p. 236.

finished the sentence as before.

"What horrors, when it flashed over him that he had made this fine speech, word for word, twice over! Yet it was not true, as the lady might perhaps have fairly inferred, that he had embellished his conversation with the Huma daily during that whole interval of years. On the contrary, he had never once thought of the odious foul until the recurrence of precisely the same circumstances brought up precisely the same idea."¹ Holmes goes on to say that the lecturer should have been proud of the accuracy of his mental adjustments.

After a number of rambling pages Holmes recurs to a more subtle phase of the same theme. He is trying to explain the fact that he never wrote a good line of verse but the moment after it was written it seemed a hundred years old. Very commonly he had the feeling he had seen it elsewhere, or unconsciously stolen it. "This is the philosophy of it. (Here the number of the company was diminished by a small secession.) Any new formula which suddenly emerges in our consciousness has its roots in long trains of thought; it is virtually old when it first makes its appearance among the recognized growths of our intellect."² He speaks, at intervals, of other unconscious actions, the tendency of eloquent writers to use adjectives in groups of three, the mannerisms of musicians and even singing birds. He does not introduce his idea as something new or startling; it comes in shyly of its own accord.

1. p. 8.

2. p. 31.

Not before page 85 does one come upon any direct statement like this one. "The more we observe and study, the wider we find the range of the automatic and instinctive principles in body, mind, and morals, and the narrower the limits of the self-determining conscious movement."

Toward the middle of the book Holmes says it is his rule to talk about subjects he has had long in his mind. And at this point he launches into a discussion of mental machinery. "Physiologists and metaphysicians have had their attention turned a good deal of late to the automatic and involuntary actions of the mind. Put an idea into your intelligence and leave it there an hour, a day, a year, without ever having occasion to refer to it. When, at last, you return to it, you do not find it as it was when acquired. It has domiciliated itself, so to speak, --- become at home, --- entered into relations with your other thoughts, and integrated itself with the whole fabric of the mind. --- Or take a simple and familiar example; Dr. Carpenter has adduced it. You forget a name, in conversation, --- go on talking without making any effort to recall it, --- and presently the mind evolves it by its own involuntary and unconscious action, while you were pursuing another train of thought, and the name rises of itself to your lips."¹ Our brains are "seventy-year clocks".²

Holmes takes as much pleasure in drawing ideas out of the shadowy recesses of his mind as Thoreau did in drawing fish from the depths of Walden; he angles for them, he goes seining in memory, he lurks where the current of thought runs deep and transparent.

1. p. 134.

2. p. 185.

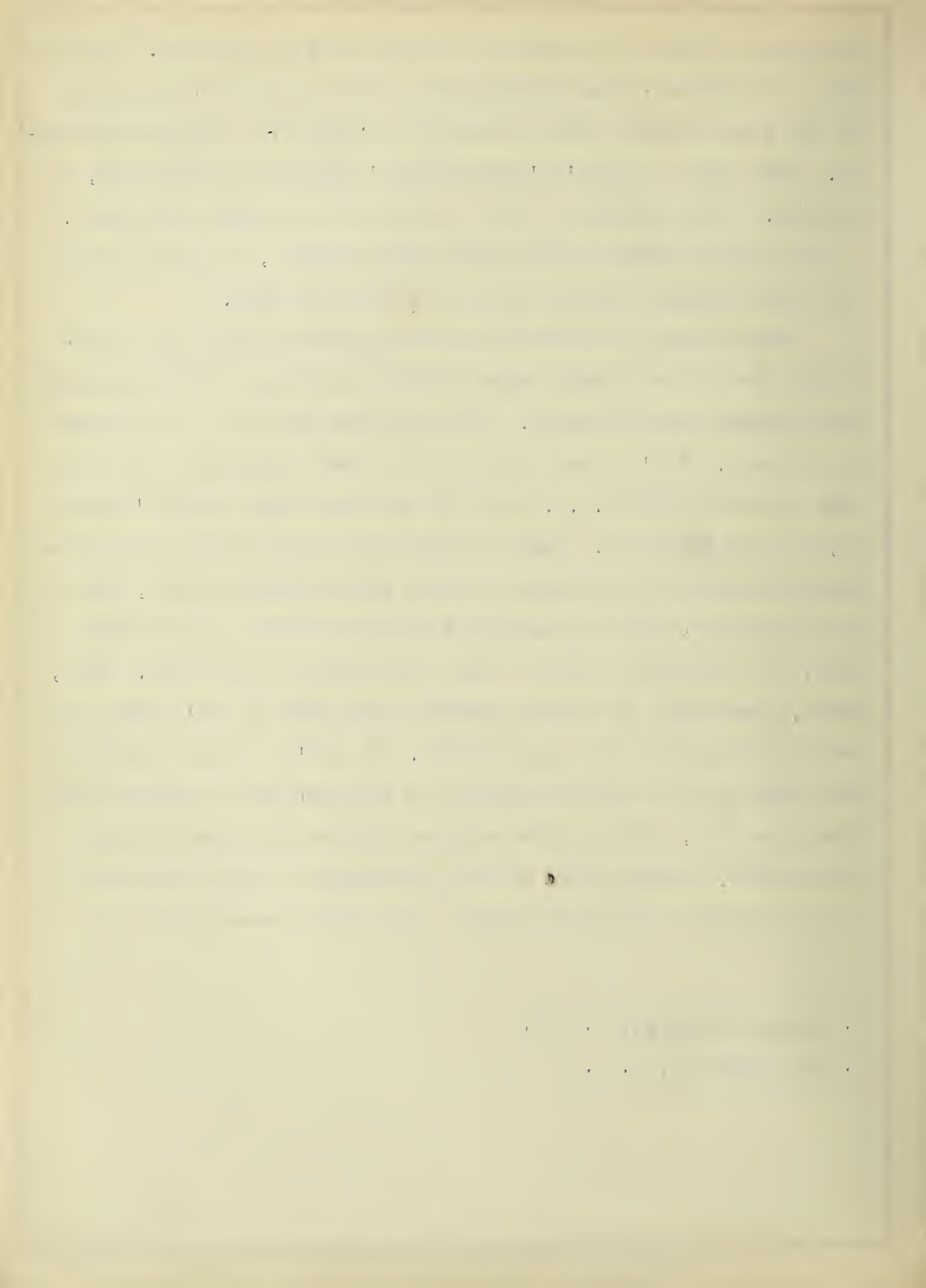
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He finds the charm of writing to consist in its surprises.¹ Throughout the breakfast-table monologs he is continually pulling up out of his consciousness ideas at which he himself is a little astonished. "The idea of a man's 'interviewing' himself is rather odd, to be sure. But then that is what we are all of us doing every day. I talk half the time to find out my own thoughts, as a school-boy turns his pockets inside out to see what is in them."²

Many figures of speech are used up before Holmes feels satisfied that he has enough emphasized the existence of depths beyond the ordinary range of sense. He likes very well the old metaphor of the cave. "It's a very queer place, that receptacle a man fetches his talk out of . . . You stow away some idea and don't want it, say for ten years. When it turns up at last it has got so jammed and crushed out of shape by other ideas packed with it, that it is no more like what it was than a raisin is like a grape on the vine, or a fig from a drum is like one hanging on the tree. Then, again, some kinds of thoughts breed in the dark of one's mind like the blind fishes in the Mammoth Cave. We can't see them and they can't see us; but sooner or later the daylight gets in and we find that some cold, fishy little negative has been spawning all over our beliefs, and the brood of blind questions it has given birth to are burrowing round and butting their blunt noses against the

1. Over the Teacups, p. 298.

2. The Professor, p. 1.



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pillars of faith we thought the whole world might lean on."

The photographic film also had a fascination for him. He says, in a half-humorous way, of Jonathan Edwards: "His ancestors had fed on sermons so long that he must have been born with Scriptural texts lying latent in his embryonic thinking-marrow, like the undeveloped picture in a film of collodion."² And in describing latent ideas which are getting themselves ready to be shaped in articulate words, he recurs to the same idea. "The artist who takes your photograph must carry you with him into his developing room . . . There is nothing to be seen on the glass just taken from the cam-

1. The Professor, p. 2. Other underground figures may be found. "A tree is an underground creature, with its tail in the air. All its intelligence is in its roots. All the senses it has are in its roots. Think what sagacity it shows in its search for meat and drink!" --- Over the Teacups, p. 212.

The cellar-and-the-well idea is another favorite: that when a human habitation falls into ruin, the signs that endure longest are those dug into the soil.

"Till naught remains the saddening tale to tell

Save home's last wrecks, the cellar and the well."

--- A Mortal Antipathy, p. 30. I have already pointed out that Thoreau used the same symbols. Thoreau's speculations about the underground springs of Walden has this parallel in Holmes:

"I've seen men whose minds were always overflowing, and yet they didn't read much nor go much into the world. Sometimes you'll find a bit of a pond hole in a pasture, and you'll plunge your walking-stick into it and think you are going to touch bottom. But you find you are mistaken. Some of these little stagnant pond-holes are a good deal deeper than you think; you may tie a stone to a bed-cord and not get soundings in some of 'em. The country boys will tell you they have no bottom, but that only means that they are mighty deep; and so a good many stagnant, stupid-seeming people are a great deal deeper than the length of your intellectual walking-stick, I can tell you. There are hidden springs that keep the little pond-holes full when the mountain brooks are all dried up."

--- The Poet, p. 80.

2. Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 366.

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era. But there is a potential, though invisible, picture hid in the creamy film which covers it. Watch him as he pours a wash over it, and you will see that miracle wrought which is at once a surprise and a charm" . . .¹

When one becomes aware of the importance of the idea of the subconscious in Holmes' thinking, he has a key to many subtle passages which do not otherwise yield their full meaning. "Through the deep caves of thought I hear a voice that sings"; ---² I presume thousands of readers have hurried over this line with the idea that it was a random and not unpleasing metaphor. "Through the deep caves of thought" --- but no; Holmes means exactly what he says. When he talks about the "deeper suggestiveness" of the mountains and the sea,³ he is on the track of his old idea. When he speaks of memories of childhood,⁴ he is impressed with their unconscious influence. When he says there are "big words which lie at the bottom of the best

1. The Guardian Angel, p. 180.

2. "The Chambered Nautilus", The Autocrat, p. 98.

3. "The mountains have a grand, stupid, lovable tranquillity; the sea has a fascinating, treacherous intelligence . . . The mountains dwarf mankind and foreshorten the procession of its long generations. The sea drowns out humanity and time; it has no sympathy for either; for it belongs to eternity, and of that it sings its monotonous song forever and ever." --- The Autocrat, p. 264.

4. "We carry our childhood's horizon with us all our days. . . The 'clouds of glory' which we trail with us in after life need not be traced to a pre-natal state. There is enough to account for them in that unconsciously remembered period of existence before we have learned the hard limitations of real life." --- A Mortal Antipathy, p. 24.

man's vocabulary, but perhaps never turn up in his life,"¹ he is thinking of the submerged store-rooms of the mind. When he recounts the fears and restless dreams that come with night, he is conscious of hereditary influences, and the dark background of evolution.² When he describes the "side door" to one's thoughts, to which a few people have keys,³ he means that there are ways of entrance directly into the deep and secret regions of the mind. When he writes scornfully of "intellectual green fruit",⁴ he is passing criticism on literature and culture which have not come to maturity by a long and deep process of natural growth.

The several volumes of poems do not yield many examples for the study of the subconscious; Holmes is, generally speaking, more formal in his verse, and he wrote much of his verse for a specific place or occasion. As was the case with Emerson, his more inspired moments led him to prose. Perhaps one poem in thirty, or something like that, has a savor of the idea we are following. It will suffice to give two or three instances. The prefatory verse in

1. The Autocrat, p. 295. The professor comes home under the influence of chloroform, and finds that his vocabulary is enlarged.

2. "Who ever dreamed, till one of our sleepless neighbors told us of it, of that Walpurgis gathering of birds and beasts of prey, --- foxes and owls, and crows, and eagles, that come from all the country round on moonshiny nights to crunch the claws and muscles, and pick out the eyes of dead fishes that the storm has thrown on Chelsea Beach?" --- The Professor, p. 164.

3. The Autocrat, p. 128.

4. "These United States furnish the greatest market for intellectual green fruit of all the places in the world." --- The Autocrat, p. 261. Compare also p. xii, where Holmes speaks of his own early issues of the Autocrat as having come to market in the "green" state. Also p. 101, where he speaks of "green" poems.

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the first volume of the poems ends with a sentiment which was common property with the transcendentalists, and for that matter with English literature as far back as Keats, Wordsworth, and Gray, at least.

"Before we sighed, our griefs were told;
Before we smiled, our joys were sung;
And all our passions shaped of old
In accents lost to mortal tongue. . .

The soul that sings must dwell apart,
Its inward melodies unknown.

Our whitest pearls we never find;
Our ripest fruit we never reach;
The flowering moments of the mind
Drop half their petals in our speech."

"The Silent Melody"¹ is the story of an old harper who plays his last song upon a broken harp without strings. "The Voiceless"² is a tribute to those who die without having found expression for the inward music, the joys and griefs which never moved the tongue.

To this point I have been collecting from Holmes' work the scattered fragments which bear upon the theme of the subconscious, and endeavoring to put them together in some coherent order. In the year 1870 Holmes attempted something of the sort himself, in an address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University. The subject of the address is "Mechanism in Thought and Morals".³ Holmes defines "mechanism" as that part of our bodily and mental life which is independent of our volition. The beating of the heart and the secretions of our internal organs, for example,

1. Poems, Vol. 3, p. 105.

2. Poems, Vol. 1, p. 247.

3. Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 260.

proceed in spite of our voluntary effort as long as we live. Respiration is only partly under our control.¹ The flow of thought is, like breathing, essentially mechanical and necessary, but incidentally capable of being modified by conscious effort. Holmes states that he is not trying to solve the old dispute of mind versus matter; he is, in fact, trying to avoid it. He is merely studying the brain as an instrument of thought. "The 'materialist' believes it to be wound up by the ordinary cosmic forces, and to give them out again as mental products; the 'spiritualist' believes in a conscious entity, not interchangeable with motive force, which plays upon this instrument. But the instrument must be studied by the one as much as by the other . . . They should see that the study of the organ of thought, microscopically, chemically, experimentally, on the lower animals, in individuals and races, in health and in disease, in every aspect of external observation, as well as by internal consciousness, is just as necessary as if mind were known to be nothing more than a function of the brain, in the same way as digestion is of the stomach."² After about sixteen pages he comes to the matter of subconscious thought.

1. Thus far, the essay merely carries out the ideas Holmes published in 1857, the year before the Autocrat, on the Mechanism of Vital Actions (North American Review, Vol. 85, p. 39-88). In this early essay Holmes points out that vital actions follow the laws of science, but that this mechanical process is not hostile to religion. The later article extends the idea of mechanism to thought and morals.

2. P. 262. In a footnote Holmes states that "It is by no means generally admitted that the brain is governed by the mind. On the contrary, the view entertained by the best cerebral physiologists is, that the mind is a force developed by the action of the brain." He gives as a reference the Journal of Psychological Medicine, July, 1870, p. 535.

"Do we ever think without knowing that we are thinking? The question may be disguised so as to look a little less paradoxical. Are there any mental processes of which we are unconscious at the time, but which we recognize as having taken place by finding certain results in our minds?

"That there are such unconscious mental actions is laid down in the strongest terms by Leibnitz, whose doctrine reverses the axiom of Descartes into sum, ergo cogito. The existence of unconscious thought is maintained by him in terms we might fairly call audacious, and illustrated by some of the most striking facts bearing upon it. The 'insensible perceptions,' he says, are as important in pneumatology as corpuscles are in physics. ---- It does not follow, he says again, that, because we do not perceive thought, it does not exist. --- Something goes on in the mind which answers to the circulation of the blood and all the internal movements of the viscera. --- In one word, it is a great source of error to believe that there is no perception in the mind but those of which it is conscious.

"This is surely a sufficiently explicit and peremptory statement of the doctrine, which, under the names of 'latent consciousness', 'obscure perceptions,' 'The hidden soul,' 'unconscious cerebration,' 'reflex~~x~~action of the brain,' has been of late years emerging into general recognition in treatises of psychology and physiology.

"His allusion to the circulation of the blood and the movements of the viscera, as illustrating his paradox of thinking without knowing it, shows that he saw the whole analogy of the mysterious intellectual movement with that series of reflex actions so fully described half a century later by Hartley . . Unconscious

activity is the rule with the actions most important to life
 The readers of Hamilton and Mill, of Abercrombie, Laycock, and Maudsley, of Sir John Herschel, of Carpenter, of Lecky, of Dallas, will find many variations on the text of Leibnitz, some new illustrations, a new classification and nomenclature of the facts; but the root of the matter is all to be found in his writings."¹

Holmes next furnishes us with ten different illustrations, or types of illustration, of work done in "the underground workshops of thought". Many of these illustrations had already been used by Holmes in his literary works. I shall not retail the list here, but give only the briefest summary. (1) A forgotten idea comes back involuntarily after a few moments; with old people there is commonly an interval, for the operation of memory, before a question is answered. (2) Questions are answered and problems solved during sleep or somnambulism. (3) Absent-minded persons act, with apparent purpose, but without really knowing what they are doing. (4) Many actions, knitting, sewing, playing the piano, walking, are performed while thought is centered upon something else. (5) We are constantly finding results of unperceived mental processes in our consciousness. (6) Poets often compose involuntarily. (7) Certain thoughts never emerge in consciousness, but make their influence felt among the perceptible mental currents, just as the unseen planets sway the movements of those which are watched and mapped by the astronomer. Old prejudices, ashamed to show themselves, nudge or veto our thoughts, and in hours of languor obsolete beliefs

1. p. 276-278.

and fancies take advantage of us. (8) Personality is often split or doubled in dreams. (9) The brain performs unusual feats under the influence of ether or chloroform; for example, attaches an unreasoning importance to certain words and phrases, and particularly general formulas. (10) This last example perhaps includes all the others: the association of ideas is at all times partly unconscious; our definite ideas are stepping-stones --- how we get from one to the other we do not know. Something carries us; we do not take the step.¹

Holmes now turns to the problem of memory, and asks how intimate is its relation with the material condition of the brain. Is memory a material record? He cannot prove the point, but he says that all the inferences are that memory is a material record in the brain.²

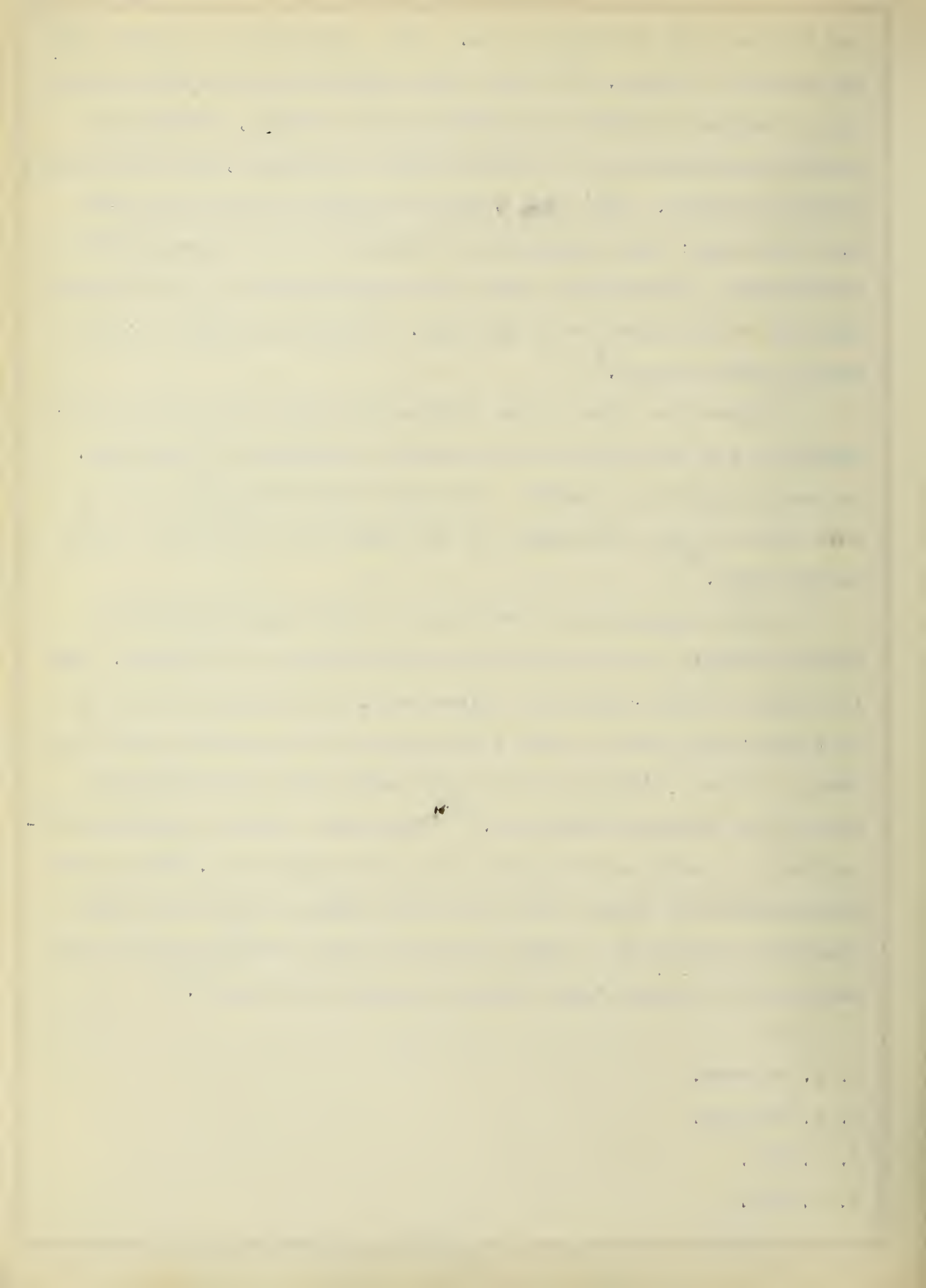
The conclusion is that there is the closest connection between thought and the structure and condition of the brain. But it is not in this direction, Holmes says, that materialism is to be feared; and then he turns very swiftly to the second part of his essay, and says, "It is in the moral world that materialism has worked the strangest confusion."³ The moral universe includes nothing but the exercise of choice; all else is machinery. What we can help and what we cannot help are on two sides of the line which separates the sphere of human responsibility from that of the "Being who has arranged and controls the order of things".⁴

1. p. 279-286.

2. p. 297-301.

3. p. 301.

4. p. 302.



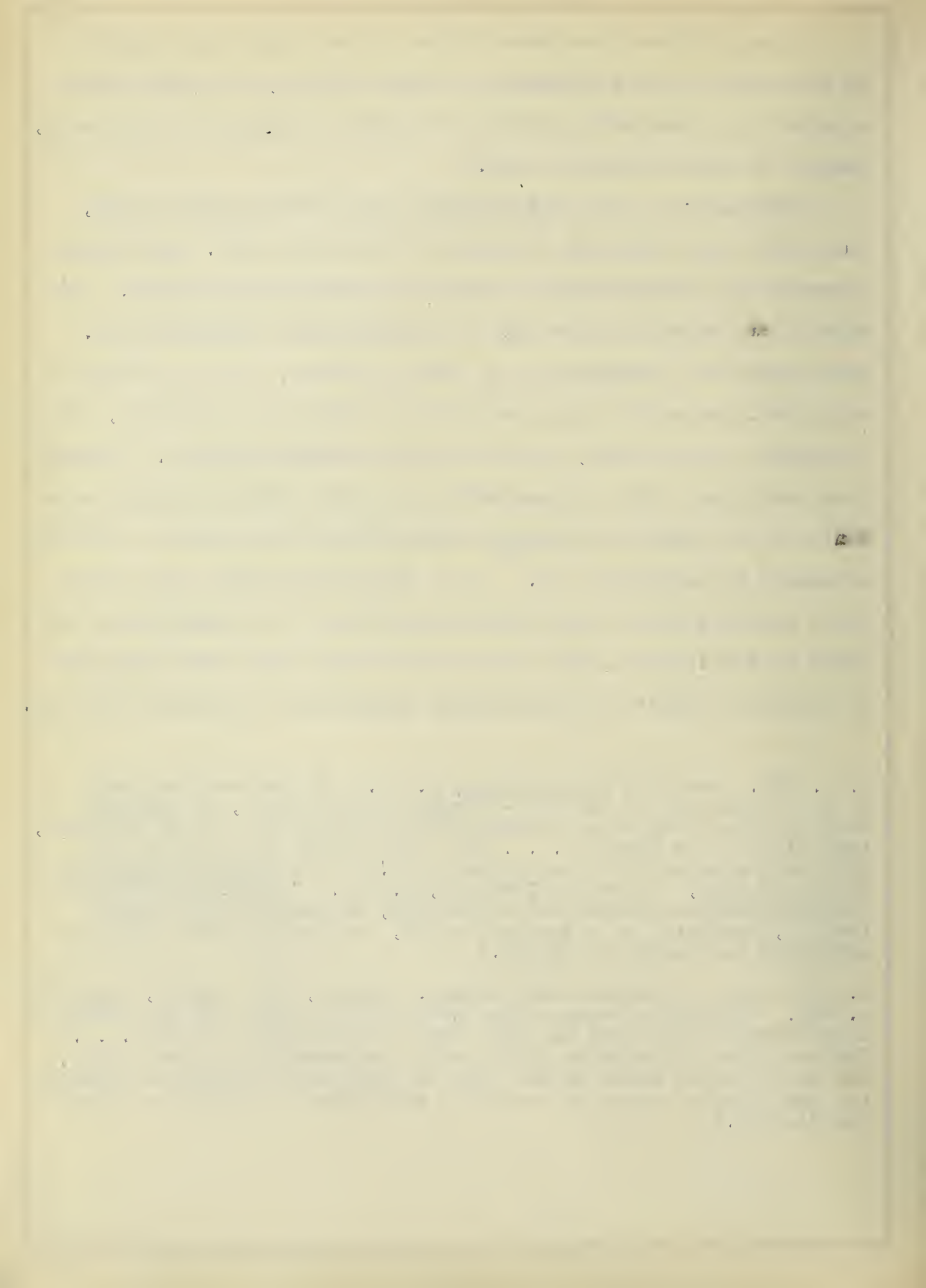
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Although Holmes thus demonstrates the very small part taken by free-will in the performance of human actions, he asserts that a belief in a reasonable degree of freedom of the will is necessary, whether it can be proved or not.¹

Materialism is not to be feared in the "unconscious" world, but only in the conscious or moral or voluntary world. And Holmes proceeds to illustrate what he means by materializing morals. (1) Moral chaos began with the idea of transmissible responsibility. Every moral act, depending as it does on choice, is in its nature exclusively personal; its penalty, if it have any, is payable, not to bearer, not to order, but only to the creditor himself. To treat a mal-volition, which is inseparably involved with an internal condition, as capable of external transfer from one person to another is simply to materialize it.² (2) The pretence that the liabilities incurred by any act of mal-volition are to be measured on the scale of the Infinite, and not on that of the total moral capacity of the finite agent, is a mechanical application of Oriental justice.

1. p. 303. See also The Autocrat, p. 86. "Do you want an image of the human will or the self-determining principle, as compared with its pre-arranged and impassable restrictions? A drop of water, imprisoned in a crystal . . . One little fluid particle in the crystalline prism of the solid universe!" Also Pages from an Old Volume of Life, "Jonathan Edwards", p. 381. "In spite of the strongest-motive necessitarian doctrine, we certainly do have a feeling, amounting to a working belief, that we are free to choose before we have made our choice."

2. This idea is frequent with Holmes. Compare, for example, The Poet, p. 268. "Somewhere between the Sermon on the Mount and the teachings of Saint Augustine sin was made a transferable chattel . . . The doctrine of heritable guilt, with its mechanical consequences, has done for our moral nature what the doctrine of demoniac possession has done in barbarous times and still does in barbarous tribes for disease."



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(3) The establishment of a scale of equivalents between perverse moral choice and physical suffering, to associate a punishment with an offense as if it would change the moral nature, to assume that a jarring moral universe will be set right only by adding more suffering --- this is another form of materialism. (4) To treat moral evil as a distinct entity, instead of a condition or the result of a condition, is materialism. (5) Having once materialized the whole province of moral evil and its consequences the final step is to materialize the methods of avoiding the consequences, to substitute some rite, penance, or formula, for perpetual and ever-renewed acts of moral self-determination.¹

In the long discussion of moral problems in the latter half of this essay, Holmes shows himself a son, though not an orthodox son, of New England. In the first half of the essay he speaks as a scientist, and then, when we expect him to conclude, to carry the argument forward, to determine the meaning and importance of the subconscious on its own merits, he faces about, and uses his accumulated ammunition to attack the ancient institution of Calvinism. Calvinism was Holmes' nightmare.

The time that Holmes spent in protecting himself against the charge of "weaking^{en} moral responsibility", he might have spent in carrying his idea of the subconscious to some conclusion.

He said in a letter to Mrs. Stowe: "I show the effects of a training often at variance with all my human instincts . . . against which my immature intelligence had to protest, with more or less injury to its balance, very probably, ever after. . . I am subject

1. p. 303-308.

to strong fits of antagonism whenever I come across that spirit of unbelief in God and strong faith in the Devil which seems to me not extinct among us. I know this will keep repeating itself in my writings. Some say it is wicked. . . . Some say it is foolish, for these notions are obsolete. But, wicked or foolish, that is my limp."¹

The "limp" appeared again in an essay on "Crime and Automatism",² a review of a three-volume work of M. Prosper Despine. M. Despine had made an elaborate study of criminals. He was struck by the absence of emotion which is so frequent a trait in criminals, the absence of the healthier instincts and feelings. He concluded that mental automatic action replaced the exercise of the will, that crime was often due to mental alienation or imbecility, or automatic consequences of irresistible causes, in which cases the criminal could not be considered a free moral agent. Holmes does not miss the opportunity to connect this teaching with the old New England conception of moral responsibility.³ I have dwelt upon Holmes' anta-

1. Letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe, Nov. 17, 1867. Printed Morse's Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Vol. 2, p. 223.

2. Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 322. First printed in the Atlantic Monthly, April, 1875.

3. In a letter to Mrs. Stowe (1875) Holmes said: "I have just written . . . a long article, which I want to call "Moral Automatism" and may call so, although taken strictly, the two words contradict each other. In this I notice at some length an extraordinary work published a few years ago, M. Prosper Despine's Psychologie Naturelle (1868). You do not know what a favor you have just done me. For, taking down my story from the shelves to look out the points you refer to, I read the Doctor's letter in reply to Bernard Langdon's inquiries, and I confess I was astonished to see how far I had anticipated the general aim of M. Despine's book, and in fact much that I have said in another form on the subject fifteen years ago." --- Morse: Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Vol. 2, p. 237. The earlier work referred to is Elsie Venner. This novel was written to prove that a girl, who received from her mother a subtle poison before her birth, could not be held morally responsible for all consequent actions. Holmes' own account of his purpose is stated in Morse, Vol. 1, p. 263.

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gonism toward Calvinism because it seems to me one of the reasons why his philosophy of the unconscious did not make further progress; it dissipated itself in attacks and counter-attacks upon theology.¹

There are many ideas in Holmes' work which may be considered as corollaries of the theory of the subconscious. The most important of these is his distrust of "logical" minds. I do not mean that he peevishly undervalued intellectual attainments; Holmes was himself a scientist, and had "an immense respect for a man of talents plus 'the mathematics'".² He did not dislike logic; he only distrusted it, and enjoyed every opportunity to scalp a logician with an epigram. "If a logical mind ever found out anything with its logic? --- I should say that its most frequent work was to build a pons asinorum over chasms which shrewd people can bestride without such a structure."³ You can hire logic, in the shape of a lawyer, to prove anything that you want to prove. . . . Some of the sharpest

1. The idea may occur to the reader that this antagonism to Calvinistic morality was Holmes' central idea, and that his theory of the subconscious was devised to combat Calvinism. It is true that the two things developed together, just as in the early history of New England the Quaker belief in the Inner Light was accompanied by a hatred of the Calvinistic outward morality and "signs of grace". The doctrine of the subconscious, the positive side of Holmes' philosophy, was expressed boldly and joyfully in the earlier works. It was the continued attack on these ideas that drew forth the attacks on Calvinism, which are more frequent and sharp in the later works.

2. The Autocrat, p. 9.

3. A similar idea is expressed in The Professor, p. 114. "A man's logical and analytical adjustments are of little consequence, compared to his primary relations with Nature and truth; and people have sense enough to find it out in the long run; they know what 'logic' is worth."

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men in argument are notoriously unsound in judgment."¹ "Controversy," he says in the same book, "equalizes fools and wise men . . . and the fools know it."² The story of the "wonderful one-hoss shay" is probably a satire on the rigid Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards, but it is, in a wider and more important sense, a satire on the abuse of logic.

"End of the wonderful one-hoss shay.
Logic is logic. That's all I say." ³

The transcendentalists, in a more acrimonious way, censured logic in favor of intuition and direct judgment. "If we consider what persons have stimulated and profited us," Emerson said, "we shall perceive the superiority of the spontaneous or intuitive principle over the arithmetical or logical. The first contains the second, but virtual or latent. We want, in every man, a long logic, but it must not be spoken. Logic is the procession or proportionate

1. The Autocrat, p. 14. Theologians and lawyers are often satirized by Holmes. The divinity student is handled sharply throughout The Autocrat and The Professor, and the lawyer throughout The Guardian Angel (particularly p. 138, 322, 363, 397). In his later works he adds another type; the "Ant-eating specialist." "We have only to look over the lists of the Faculties and teachers of our Universities to see the subdivision of labor carried out as never before. The movement is irresistible; it brings with it exactness, exhaustive knowledge, a narrow but complete self-satisfaction, with such accompanying faults as pedantry, triviality, and the kind of partial blindness which belongs to intellectual myopia." The Poet, p. viii. See also p. 78-79.

2. p. 114.

3. Poems, Vol. 2, p. 131.

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unfolding of the intuition;¹ but its virtue is as silent method; the moment it would appear as propositions, and have a separate value, it is worthless."² A little of this transcendental dislike for logic was, it seems, inherited by Holmes. But Holmes' feeling is, as I have said, distrust rather than dislike. He had no spiritual interests at stake; he distrusted logic because he found it inadequate to handle the subtle ideas in which he was involved. "The man who is never conscious of a state of feeling or of intellectual effort entirely beyond expression by any form of words whatsoever is a mere creature of language."³ It is on psychological, rather than transcendental grounds, that Holmes distrusts logic.⁴

1. Holmes' version of the same idea is this: "The great minds are those with a wide span, which couple truths related to, but far removed from, each other. Logicians carry the surveyor's chain over the track of which these are the true explorers. I value a man mainly for his primary relations with truth. . ." --- The Autocrat, p. 14.

2. Essays, First Series; "Intellect", the third page.

3. The Autocrat, p. 132.

4. For example, the seat of the musical sense, he says, is out of the reach of logic. "Far down below the great masses of thinking marrow and its secondary agents, just as the brain is about to merge in the spinal cord, the roots of the nerve of hearing spread their white filaments out into the sentient matter, where they report what the external organs have to tell them. This sentient matter is in remote connection only with the mental organs, far^{more} remote than the centres of the sense of vision and that of smell. In a word, the musical faculty might be said to have a little brain of its own. It has a special world and a private language all to itself. How can one explain its significance to one whose musical faculties are in a rudimentary state of development, or who have never had them trained?" --- Over the Teacups, p. 98.

A second corollary is the idea of the ripening or coming into full consciousness of tendencies which have been latent. "The various inherited instincts ripen in succession. You may be nine tenths paternal at one period of your life, and nine tenths maternal at another. All at once the traits of some immediate ancestor may come to maturity unexpectedly on one of the branches of your character, just as your features at different periods of your life betray different resemblances to your nearer or more remote relatives." This idea of the successive coming to maturity of instincts was often expressed, in a vague and poetic way, by the transcendentalists. Thus Emerson writes, "In every man's mind, some images, words, and facts remain, without effort on his part to imprint them, which others forget, and afterwards these illustrate to him important laws. All our progress is an unfolding, like the vegetable bud. You have first an instinct, then an opinion, then a knowledge, as the plant has root, bud, and fruit. Trust the instinct to the end, though you can render no reason. It is vain to hurry it. By trusting it to the end, it shall ripen into truth, and you shall know why you believe."²

The difference between the two writers is that Emerson attaches a spiritual significance to the inward forces which ripen in their proper time, whereas Holmes explains the emergence of the new powers as a fact of heredity. Holmes wrote a novel, The Guardian Angel, in which he attempted to record the successive appearance of inherited qualities in a young girl. He makes the reader aware of the problem in the preface. "The successive development

1. The Poet, p. 166.

2. Essays, First series, "Intellect", third page.

of inherited bodily aspects and habitudes is well known to all who have lived long enough to see families grow under their own eyes. The same thing happens, but less obviously to common observation, in the mental and moral nature. . . I have attempted to show the successive evolution of some inherited qualities in the character of Myrtle Hazard." Early in the book Holmes makes us acquainted with his omnibus idea of heredity. "It is by no means certain that our individual personality is the single inhabitant of these our corporeal frames. . . Some, at least, who have long been dead, may enjoy a kind of secondary and imperfect, yet self-conscious life, in these bodily tenements which we are in the habit of considering exclusively our own. There are many circumstances, familiar to common observers, which favor this belief to a certain extent. Thus, at one moment we detect the look, at another the tone of voice, at another some characteristic movement of this or that ancestor, in our relations or others. There are times when our friends do not act like themselves, but apparently in obedience to some other law than that of their own proper nature. We all do things both awake and asleep which surprise us. . . This body in which we journey across the isthmus between the two oceans is not a private carriage, but an omnibus."¹

The latent characteristics are sometimes at war, and strive for mastery. "The instincts and qualities belonging to the ancestral

1. The Guardian Angel, p. 22. For earlier use of the same idea see The Professor, p. 191. "There is one strange revelation which comes out as the artist shapes your features from his outline. It is that you resemble so many relatives to whom you yourself never had noticed any particular likeness in your countenance."

traits which predominated in the conflict of mingled lives lay in this child in embryo, waiting to come to maturity. It was as when several grafts, bearing fruit that ripens at different times, are growing upon the same stock. Her earlier impulses may have been derived directly from her father and mother, but all the ancestors who have been mentioned, and more or less obscurely many others, came uppermost in their time, before the absolute and total result of their several forces had found its equilibrium in the character by which she was to be known as an individual. These inherited impulses were therefore many, conflicting, some of them dangerous. The World, the Flesh, and the Devil held mortgages on her life before its deed was put in her hands; but sweet and gracious influences were also born with her; and the battle of life was to be fought between them, God helping her in her need, and her own free choice siding with one or the other."

As the story progresses, one is permitted to see the reminiscences and hints of the past in the girl's actions, and to catch glimpses of the dawning of her yet un-lived "secondary" lives.² Four great dangers in turn threaten her life, her mind, her soul, and her fortune; but these are warded off by latent hereditary powers or resources which become active at the right moment. The operations of these hereditary forces is assisted by a friendly counselor, an old man; for we are led to infer that the forces of heredity would be helpless without external aid. Thus when the old adviser suggests to the heroine that she is in danger from the attentions of a certain unscrupulous minister, the counsel comes at the right moment

1. p. 26

2. p. 219.

to reinforce an instinctive feeling which is awakening in the girl's consciousness. "It is not in the words that others say to us but in those other words which these make us say to ourselves, that we find our gravest lessons and our sharpest rebukes. The hint another gives us finds whole trains of thought which have been getting themselves ready to be shaped in inwardly articulated words, and only awaited the touch of a burning syllable, as the mottoes of a pyrotechnist only wait for a spark to become letters of fire. . . . The grave warnings of Master Byles Gridley had called up a fully shaped, but hitherto unworded, train of thought in the consciousness of Myrtle Hazard. It was not their significance, it was mainly because they were spoken at the fitting time."¹

It should be added that there was a tradition in the family that none of its descendants could come to harm, the spirit of one of the ancestors, in particular, acting as a guardian angel.² An interesting contrast might be drawn here with Hawthorne's The House of the Seven Gables. In Hawthorne's story the Pyncheon family is under a curse, and the past rests its evil weight on succeeding generations. In Holmes' account heredity hovers protectingly over the threatened girl, and the story ends, as all Holmes' stories do, most happily.

The concept of heredity and the subconscious gave to Holmes much of the same comfort and optimism that the doctrine of the over-soul gave to Emerson. Holmes was willing to trust human nature;

1. p. 180.
2. p. 23.

he awaited the maturing of instincts and inherited powers with as much patient confidence as Emerson awaited the influx of the "etherial waters".¹ "Eggs hatch just as well if you let them alone in the nest as if you take them out and shake them every day."² He wanted to let the small boy begin life as a healthy little savage.³ He desired that girls should be robust and free from melancholy brooding.⁴ He did not believe in "untwisting the morning-glory", but waited for the sunshine to do it. "Look at the flower of a morning-glory the evening before the dawn which is to see it unfold. The delicate petals are twisted into a spiral, which at the appointed hour, when the sunlight touches the hidden springs of life, will uncoil itself and let the day into the chamber of its virgin heart. But the spiral must unwind by its own law, and the

1. Essays, First series, "The Over-Soul", second page.

2. A Mortal Antipathy, p. 184.

3. "Here is a boy that loves to run, swim, kick football, turn somersets, make faces, whittle, fish, tear his clothes, coast, skate, fire crackers, blow squash 'tooters', cut his name on fences, read about Robinson Crusoe and Sinbad the Sailor, eat the widest-angled slices of pie and untold cakes and candies, crack nuts with his back teeth and bite the better part of another boy's apple with his front ones, turn up coppers, 'stick' knives, call names, throw stones, knock off hats, set mousetraps, chalk doorsteps, 'cut behind' anything on wheels or runners, whistle through his teeth, 'holler' Fire! on slight evidence, run after soldiers, patronize an engine-company, or, in his own words, 'blow for tub No. 11,' or whatever it may be; --- isn't that a pretty nice sort of a boy?" --- The Professor, p. 194. Mark Twain's greatest service was to change the American ideal of boyhood; and this paragraph from Holmes is a Tom Sawyer in miniature.

4. Elsie Venner, p. 169. The Guardian Angel, p. 82.

hand that shall try to hasten the process will only spoil the blossom which would have expanded in symmetrical beauty under the rosy fingers of the morning."¹ Holmes was, like Emerson, willing to trust ideas which were evolving into new ideas; he had no spiritual or philosophical fears.

"Is there not danger in introducing discussions or allusions relating to matters of religion into common discourse?" the divinity student asked.

"Danger to what?"

"Danger to truth."

"I didn't know Truth was such an invalid. --- How long is it since she could only take the air in a close carriage, with a gentleman in a black coat on the box? . . . Truth is tough. It will not break, like a bubble, at a touch; nay, you may kick it about all day, like a football, and it will be round and full at evening."²

This optimism --- one is tempted to call it cockiness --- made its way into Holmes' style; it pervades both his ideas and his expression. By choosing such a theme as the breakfast table, the author seems to want to tell us that the apparent subject is of little moment; the real subject lies below. And by a certain indifference in expression we are made to look for deeper qualities in the style. Holmes' transitions are frivolous; they are not logical, but psychological. He turned his thought loose to see what unexpected corner it would turn. His big ideas he always told be-

1. The Guardian Angel, p. 73.

2. The Professor, p. 106.

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tween the lines.¹ He never worked with a plan; he let his pen move, and followed the unfolding sentences with a sense of surprise.² He not only kept his real motive beneath the surface, but sometimes playfully concealed it, or put little logical obstacles in the way of finding it, intellectual low hurdles for the reader to vault over. Following the New England tradition, he was immensely fond of pointing a moral at the end; but not the neat obvious moral which Hawthorne used. His moral are semi-humorous, as if he wished to emphasize the inadequacy of logical speech to point the moral at all. Sometimes he rogueishly invented pseudo-morals, or deliberately pointed out the wrong one.³ To begin, like a schoolmaster, with some concrete object known to everybody, a cow, a honey-jug, a stone in the pasture, and to proceed from that to a philosophical idea, was Holmes' usual method. And having soared to a very moderate height of abstraction, he usually settled gracefully back to earth in one of his reckless parachute descents of wit.

What finally came of Holmes' pursuit of the subconscious is now the remaining question for this chapter. If Holmes had only summarized his convictions and recorded a verdict; but his late books have no such formal declaration. Instead, he left us the hum-

1. Macy, John: The Spirit of American Literature, p. 156. "His manner is . . . a very innocent mask for some loaded guns that he fires while looking unconcernedly at something else." He "touches profundities with an assumption of amateurish inquiry."

2. "I must have my paper and pen before me to set my thoughts flowing in such form that they can be written continuously. There have been lawyers who could think out their whole argument in connected order without a single note. . . I find the great charm of writing consists in its surprises. When one is in the receptive attitude of mind, the thoughts which are sprung upon him, the images which flash through his consciousness, are a delight and an excitement." --- Over the Teacups, p. 298.

3. A fair example is "Parson Turrel's Legacy" (Poems, Vol. 2, p. 135), in which the formal conclusion is not Holmes' real conclusion.

orous account in The Poet at the Breakfast-Table of another, a fictitious writer, called the Master. The Master calls his friends into his library to tell them the result of his life's work. "Many things that I have said in my ripe days have been aching in my soul since I was a mere child. I say aching, because they conflicted with many of my inherited beliefs, or rather traditions. I did not know then that two strains of blood were striving in me for the mastery, --- two! twenty, perhaps, --- twenty thousand, for aught I know, --- but represented to me by two, --- paternal and maternal. Blind forces in themselves; shaping thoughts as they shaped features and battled for the moulding of constitution and the mingling of temperament.

"Philosophy and poetry came to me before I knew their names. . . I don't believe anything I've written is as good as it seemed to me when I wrote it . . . But I do know this: I have struck a good many chords, first and last, in the consciousness of other people. . . It is a strange thing to see what numbers of new things are really old.¹

"But I meant . . . to read you some paragraphs which give in small compass the pith, the marrow, of all that my experience has taught me. . . It has cost me fifty years to find my place in the Order of Things. I had explored all the sciences; I had studied the literature of all ages; I had travelled in many lands; I had learned how to follow the workings of thought in men and of sentiment and instinct in women. I had examined for myself all the religions that could make out any claim for themselves. . . I had listened

1. The Poet, p. 319-322.

to the threats of Calvinists and the promises of Universalists. I met frequently with the inner circle of Rationalists, who believed in the persistence of Force, and the identity of alimentary substances with virtue, and were reconstructing the universe on this basis, with absolute exclusion of all Supernumeraries. In these pursuits I had passed the larger part of my half-century of existence, as yet with little satisfaction. It was on the morning of my fiftieth birthday that the solution of the great problem I had sought so long came to me as a simple formula, with a few grand but obvious inferences. I will repeat the substance of this final intuition:

"The one central fact in the Order of Things which solves all questions is --- "

At this point a knock at the door interrupts the Master's discourse. The interruption is very long --- several pages --- and at the end of it the friends beg the Master to complete the story.

"No, sir, --- he said, --- better not, better not. That which means so much to me, the writer, might be a disappointment, or at least a puzzle, to you, the listener. Besides, if you'll take my printed book and be at the trouble of thinking over what it says, and put that with what you've heard me say, and then make those comments and reflections which will be suggested to a mind in so many respects like mine as is your own . . . you will perhaps find you have the elements of the formula and its consequences which I was about to read you. It's quite as well to crack your own filberts as to borrow the use of other people's teeth. I think we will wait awhile before we pour out the Elixir Vitae.

"--- To tell the honest truth, I suspect the Master has found out that his formula does not hold water quite so perfectly as he

was thinking, so long as he kept it to himself, and never thought of imparting it to anybody else. The very minute a thought is threatened with publicity it seems to shrink towards mediocrity, as I have noticed that a great pumpkin, the wonder of a village, seemed to lose at least a third of its dimensions between the field where it grew and the cattle-show fair-table, where it took its place with other enormous pumpkins from other wondering villages."¹

This story is autobiographical, whether the author intended it to be so or not.² Holmes was always on the point of announcing some new truth, always about to tell his readers the cause for the enthusiasm that kept him on tip-toe. The "Great Secret" which he said many persons lived in hope of discovering, and the mysterious formula which the Master was about to reveal and never did --- these were of a piece with Holmes' own hopes and unexpressed beliefs. If we follow his hint, take his printed work and "be at the trouble of thinking over what it says", we may discover a large part of his open secret. It was the existence of a subconscious realm of the mind, or other facts closely related. This feeling that he was walking on the brink of a discovery was strongest in Holmes' early years of writing, when the afterglow of transcendentalism had not entirely faded from the skies.

1. p. 337-344.

2. "It is very hard for the writer of papers like these, which are now coming to their conclusion, to keep his personality from showing itself too conspicuously through the thin disguises of his various characters." --- Over the Teacups, p. 303.

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Exactly why Holmes' interest in the subconscious tapered off in the later books we cannot say; but there are several plausible reasons. He found that his theory carried him pretty far in the direction of automatism or mechanism. Holmes had considerable stomach even for this, as one can see from reading his early Mechanism of Vital Actions. But science, after 1870, probably outran his own zeal, and French realism, which he detested,² showed some of the unlovely aspects of the mechanistic theory as applied to human nature. Hence he did not push the idea of automatism beyond a certain point. At that point, the point arrived at in the Phi Beta Kappa address for 1870, it made an excellent weapon with which to attack the old Calvinistic conception of moral responsibility. Holmes therefore dissipated the energy he might have used in forwarding his main argument, in rear-guard or counter-attacks upon the old theology.

In the second place, Holmes found that for the explanation of the phenomena of the subconscious he was led more and more toward heredity. And it seemed incongruous to make a secret of anything so old and so well understood as heredity. It sounded well enough to speak of getting acquainted with strange powers in the subconscious realms of the mind, but if it turned out that this meant only getting acquainted with one's grandmother, there was something ridiculous in

1. North American Review, 85: 39; July, 1857. Holmes was impressed with the old idea that the laws of nature are the thoughts of God; hence mechanism need not be anti-spiritual. But it must have become obvious to him, at length, that he was only substituting scientific mechanism for the old theological mechanism which he hated so heartily.

2. Over the Teacups, p. 106-109. Flaubert, Zola, and to a lesser degree Balzac, meet with censure.

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continuing the mystery. Holmes therefore turned his interest more to human nature than to theories about human nature.¹ He did not hesitate to reveal the humorous side of his favorite ideas. He made fun of his own idea of "passive cerebration" as Hawthorne sometimes punctured his own illusions. "Two young persons can stand looking at water for a long time without feeling the necessity of speaking. Especially when the water is alive with stars and the young persons are thoughtful and impressible. The water seems to do half the thinking while one is looking at it; its movements are felt in the brain very much like thought. When I was in training as a flaneur, I could stand on the Pont Neuf with the other experts in the great science of passive cerebration and look at the river for half an hour with so little mental articulation that when I moved on it seemed as if my thinking-marrow had been asleep and was just waking up refreshed after its nap."²

In the course of this chapter I have often hesitated to quote a passage, being uncertain whether the writer meant what he said. The following paragraph, for example, begins with as profound an utterance as any of which philosophy is capable; but the paragraph degenerates and ends in a third-rate joke. "A certain involuntary adjustment assimilates us, you may also observe, to that upon which we look. Roses redden the cheeks of her who stoops to gather them, and buttercups turn little people's chins yellow. When we look at a vast landscape, our chests expand as if we would enlarge to fill it. When we examine a minute object, we naturally

1. The Poet, p. 327.

2. The Poet, p. 316.

contract, not only our foreheads, but all our dimensions. If I see two men wrestling, I wrestle too, with my limbs and features. When a country-fellow comes upon the stage, you will see twenty faces in the boxes putting on the bumpkin expression. There is no need of multiplying instances to reach this generalization; every person and thing we look upon puts its special mark upon us. If this is repeated often enough, we get a permanent resemblance to it, or, at least, a fixed aspect which we took from it. Husband and wife come to look alike at last, as has often been noticed. It is a common saying of a jockey, that he is 'all horse'; and I have often fancied that milkmen get a stiff, upright carriage, and an angular movement of the arm, that remind one of a pump and the working of its handle".¹

For many years Holmes had great sport with the transcendentalists and other queer people with queer ideas, and now it begins to dawn upon him that his own swan may prove to be a goose. His humor becomes inclusive, and involves himself and his most fundamental thought. When one has ^{seen} the subconscious realm dissolve into the simple facts of heredity, one feels like repeating the words that Holmes once used in another connection. "A great many seeming mysteries are relatively perfectly plain, when we can get at them so as to turn them over. How many ghosts that 'thick men's blood with cold' prove to be shirts hung out to dry! How many mermaids have been made out of seals! How many times have horse-mackerels been taken for the sea-serpent!"²

1. The Professor, p. 156.

2. The Professor, p. 257.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF THE NEW HOPE
IN WILLIAM JAMES

James' Early Position

James' Later Position

Conclusion

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF THE NEW HOPE
IN WILLIAM JAMES

James' Early Position

William James graduated in 1869 from the Medical School of Harvard University, where Holmes was still active as a professor of anatomy. The references to Holmes in James' work are few,¹ and usually bear upon some point of little consequence. Yet it is very easy to show that James repeated a great number of Holmes' leading ideas. I am not sure that there was a large direct indebtedness, for the two men often drew from common sources, and the seeds of many of their general ideas were almost, one might say, in the air. My purpose is not to trace the influence of Holmes on James, but to show that the two were in the same line of development, and interested in the same things. For this latter purpose it will suffice to give some ten or a dozen brief examples.

In James' Psychology the chapters on Habit, Instinct, and the Self are perhaps as well known as any others. And a series of passages could be mustered from Holmes' work to express almost the

1. In the Psychology there are only three references (and those are of little interest or importance) to Holmes, and in the other works there are a few scattered references.

Holmes' last work, Over the Teacups, was published in 1890. In this same year appeared James' first work, the Psychology. It is unnecessary, therefore, in comparing any two books by the two authors, to explain that Holmes' is the earlier.

same ideas and conclusions. The chapter on Habit is almost medieval in its insistence upon the importance of forming habits, and its failure to lay stress on the equally important process of breaking habits. And Holmes, because of his interest in automatic or involuntary actions of the mind, attached almost equal importance to the formation and utilization of habits.¹ In the chapter on Instinct James elaborates the idea that instincts ripen at a certain time and then fade away.² This process of ripening or coming to maturity was a favorite subject of study with Holmes, and forms the theme of one of his books.³ James extends the ordinary conception of the Self; a man has several selves; a material self, a social self, a spiritual self, and possibly many others.⁴ Holmes played with the idea many years and finally weaved it in with his theories

1. Over the Teacups, p. 27. "Everything depends on habit." But Holmes, also emphasized the need of breaking habits. See Elsie Venner, p. 252-3, The Autocrat, p. 155, A Mortal Antipathy, p. 237.

2. Vol. 2, p. 398.

3. The Guardian Angel, especially p. 47, 77, 181, 219.

4. Psychology, Vol. 1, p. 292.

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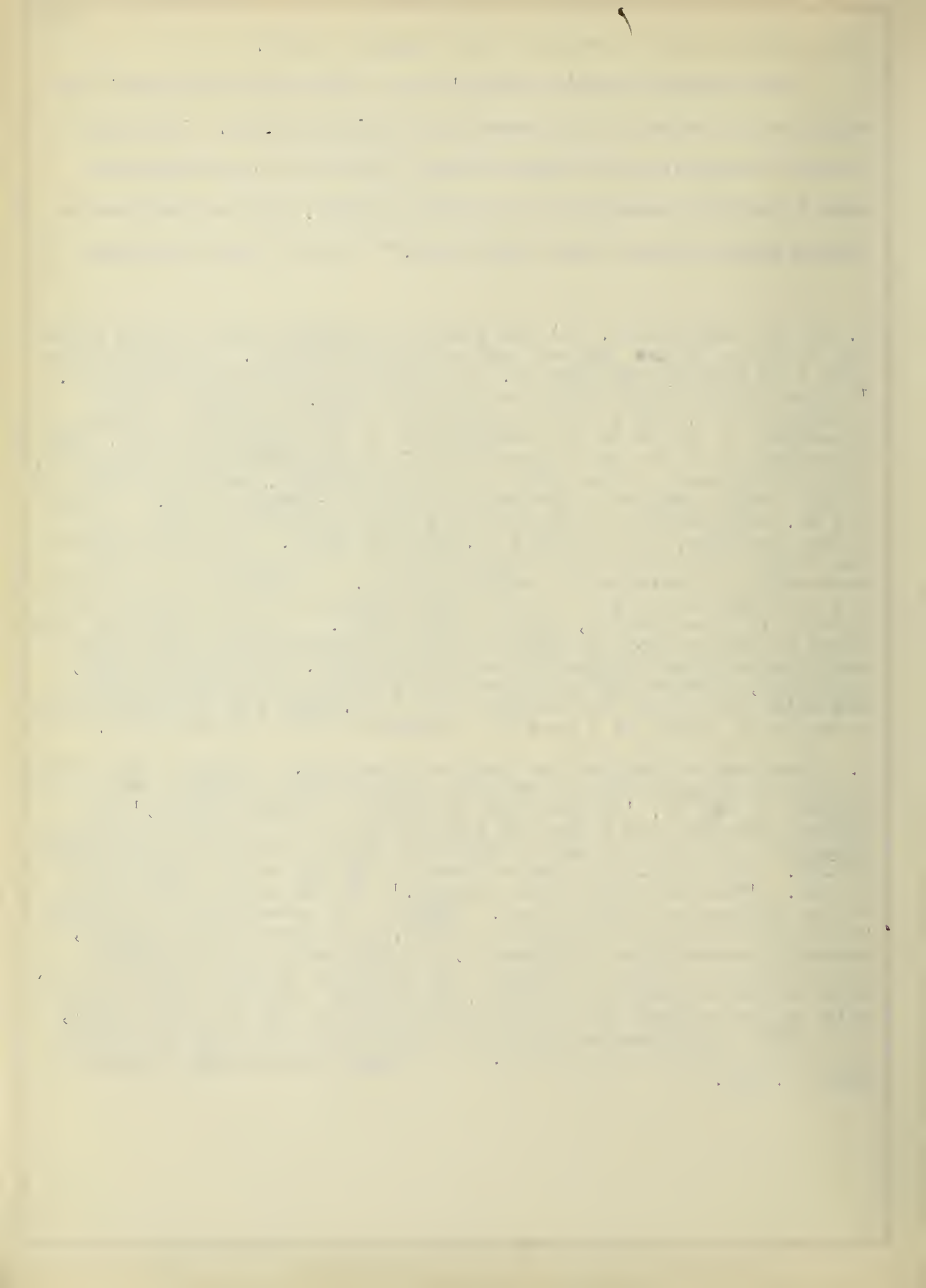
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of heredity, made it over into his "omnibus idea".

The central thought in James' essay "The Will to Believe" was expressed by Holmes in his essay on Jonathan Edwards. "In spite of the strongest-motive necessitarian doctrine, we do certainly have a feeling, amounting to a working belief, that we are free to choose before we have made our choice."² And in their attitude

1. In the Autocrat (p. 53) the idea first shows itself in the playful division of ~~the~~ two men into six personalities. Holmes in his last book Over the Teacups (p. 166) refers to his earlier article. "I have not ventured very often nor very deeply into the field of metaphysics, but if I were disposed to make any claim in that direction, it would be the recognition of the squinting brain, the introduction of the term "cerebricity" corresponding to electricity, the idiotic area in the brain or thinking-marrow, and my studies of the second member in the partnership of I-My-Self & Co. I add the Co. with especial reference to a very interesting article in a late Scribner, by my friend Mr. William James. In this article the reader will find a full exposition of the doctrine of plural personality illustrated by striking cases. I have long ago noticed and referred to the fact of the stratification of the currents of thought in three layers, one over the other. I have recognized that where there are two individuals talking together there are really six personalities engaged in the conversation. But the distinct, separable, independent individualities, taking up conscious life one after the other, are brought out by Mr. James and the authorities to which he refers as I have not elsewhere seen them developed."

2. Holmes works the idea out much as James did. "Suppose this belief to be a self-deception, as we have seen that Hobbes and Leibnitz suggest it may be, 'a deceiving of mankind by God himself,' as Edwards accuses Lord Kaimes of maintaining, still this instinctive belief in the power of moral choice in itself constitutes a powerful motive. Our thinking ourselves free is the key to our whole moral nature. 'Possumus quia posse videmur.' We can make a difficult choice because we think we can. Happily, no reasoning can persuade us out of this belief; happily, indeed, for virtue rests upon it, education assumes and develops it, law pronounces its verdict and the ministers of the law execute its mandates on the strength of it. Make us out automata if you will, but we are automata which cannot help believing that they do their work well or ill as they choose, that they wind themselves up or let themselves run down by a power not in the weights and springs." --- Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 381.



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toward religion there are other points of similarity. The Varieties Religious Experience furnishes an elaborate study of the "sick soul. I have already quoted Holmes' analysis of the "neuralgic conscience" as he gives it in Chapter XII of Elsie Venner, and a number of similar but shorter passages could be collected from the earlier works.¹ James explains one type of "conversion" as a subconsciously maturing process of which the convert suddenly become conscious.² Thirty-five years before, while James was still in the medical school, Holmes had shown an interest in the different types of conversion,³ and five years later he gave this extended account. "Sin, like disease, is a vital process. It is a function, not an entity . . . In these living actions everything is progressive. There are sudden changes of character in what is called 'conversion' which, at first, hardly seem to come into line with the common laws of evolution. But these changes have been long preparing, and it is just as much in the order of nature that certain characters should burst all at once from the rule of evil propensities, as it is that the evening primrose should explode, as it were, into bloom with an audible

1. See The Professor, p. 195. "I have no doubt that disgust is implanted in the minds of many healthy children by early surfeits of pathological piety." Also The Guardian Angel, p. 82. Also a letter to James William Kimball, Dec. 10, 1858: "A certain number of children, especially the feeble, the scrofulous, the consumptive, . . . produce a sickly saintliness which is interesting. . ." --- Morse, John T.: Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Vol. 2, p. 144.

Holmes' cure for low spirits is much like the one James worked out as a corollary of the Lange-James theory of emotions. "Try to wear a quiet and encouraging look, and it will react on your disposition and make you like what you seem to be, or at least bring you nearer to its own likeness." --- Medical Essays, p. 388. Also Over the Teacups, p. 182.

2. The Varieties of Religious Experience, particularly p. 206. Also p. 178, 180, 233.

3. The Guardian Angel, p. 193. Three girls represent different types of religious experience.

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sound."¹ The Divided Self, to which James devotes a chapter,² is another aspect of subconscious incubation, which Holmes had worked upon in 1867.³

James made numerous attacks upon the Hegelian concept of "the Absolute", and other logical concepts beyond the realm of experience.⁴ These were his nightmare, just as the ultra-logical moral system of Jonathan Edwards was the nightmare of Holmes. Holmes too never missed a chance to scalp "the absolute."⁵ James liked to take a firm grip on an abstract noun and shake it until he emptied it of logical superstitions and misleading connotations.⁶

1. The Poet, p. 306.

2. The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 166.

3. The Guardian Angel, p. 185. "It was a strife . . . of two lives her blood inherited for the mastery of her soul." p. 417. "The conflict of mingled lives in her blood had ceased." Myrtle Hazard was Holmes' embodiment of the idea of the "divided self".

4. See Pragmatism, p. 19, 71, 78, 153, 159. Also A Pluralistic Universe, the chapter on Hegel, p. 98, 126. James' attacks on logic, and the abuses of logic, are numerous. For example, the opening paragraph of "Bergson and his Critique of Intellectualism", A Pluralistic Universe, p. 225. "Bergson's philosophy . . . led me personally to renounce the intellectualistic method and the current notion that logic is an adequate measure of what can or cannot be."

5. "When you see a metaphysician trying to wash his hands of them [time and space] and get rid of these accidents, so as to lay his dry, clean palm on the absolute, does it not remind you of the hopeless task of changing the color of the blackamoor by a similar proceeding?" ---A Mortal Antipathy, p. 26. Also The Professor, p. 297.

6. The Meaning of Truth, p. 217.

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Holmes recommended a similar practice of "depolarizing" words,¹ and stripping from thought the useless bandages.² Both men railed at pedantry, over-specialization, and narrowness.³

There are other minor or partial resemblances between the ideas of the two men.⁴ The very useful distinction made by James

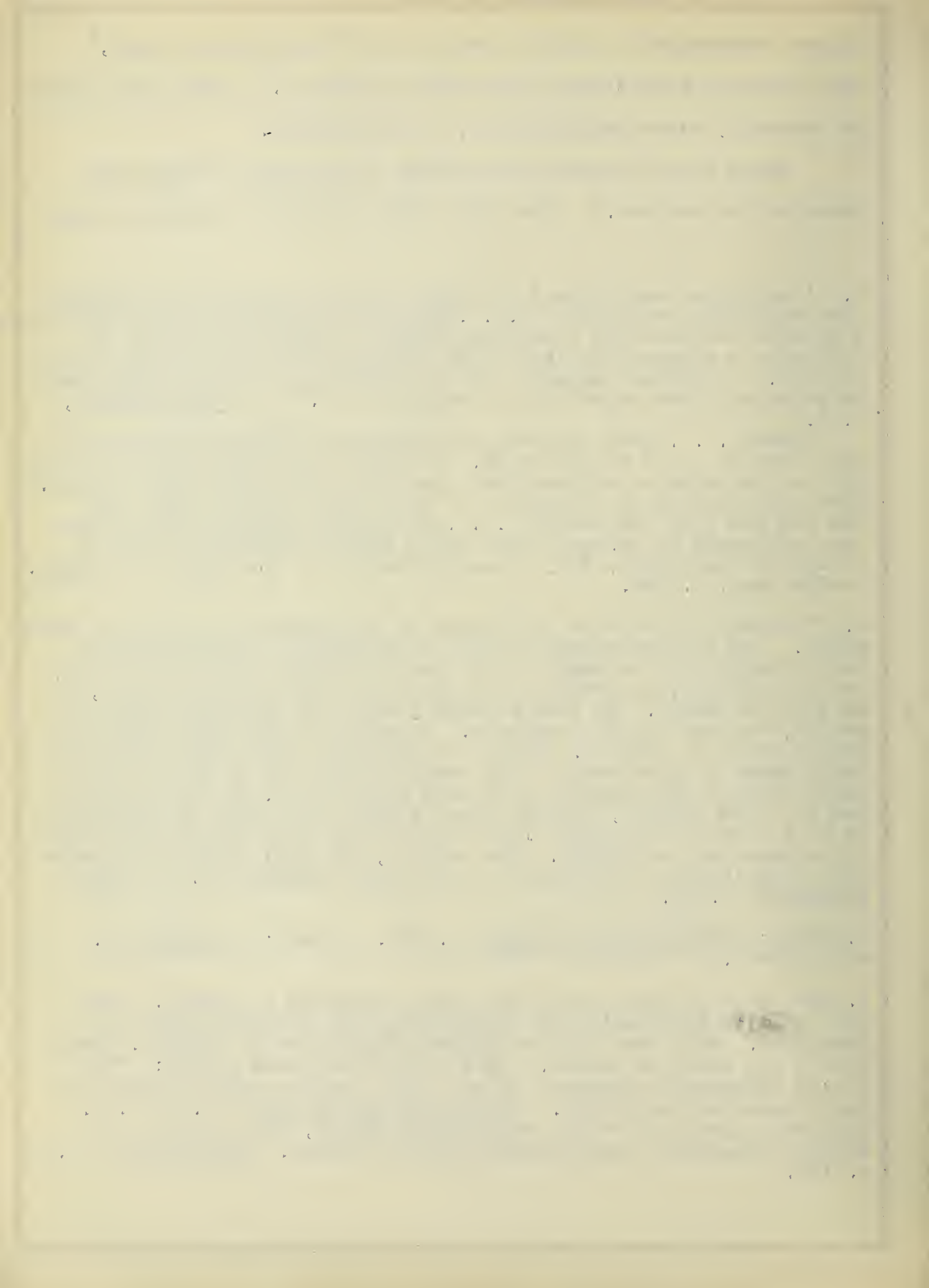
1. "Depolarize every fixed religious idea in the mind by changing the word which stands for it. . . . When a given symbol which represents a thought has lain for a certain length of time in the mind, it undergoes a change like that which rest in a certain position gives to iron. It becomes magnetic in its relations, -- it is traversed by strange forces which did not belong to it." --- The Professor, p. 6.

"Terms . . . have entirely and radically different meanings in the minds of those who use them. Yet they deal with them as if they were as definite as mathematical quantities or geometrical figures. What would become of arithmetic if the figure 2 meant three for one man and five for another . . . But how is this any worse than the difference of opinion which led a famous clergyman to say of a brother theologian, "Oh, I see, my dear sir, your God is my Devil." ---The Poet, p. 184.

2. "I wonder if you know this class of philosophers in books or elsewhere. One of them makes his bow to the public, and exhibits an unfortunate truth bandaged up so that it cannot stir hand or foot, --- as helpless, apparently, and unable to take care of itself, as an Egyptian mummy. He then proceeds, with the air and method of a master, to take off the bandages. Nothing can be neater than the way in which he does it. But as he takes off layer after layer, the truth seems to grow smaller and smaller, and some of its outlines begin to look like something we have seen before. At last, when he has got them all off, and the truth struts out naked, we recognize it as a diminutive and familiar acquaintance whom we have known in the streets all our lives. The fact is, the philosopher has coaxed the truth into his study and put all those bandages on." --- The Professor, p. 39.

3. James: Memories and Studies, p. 329. Holmes: The Poet, p. viii, 75-79.

4. Even in style the two writers have something in common. Both have a gift for packing an explanation into a brief formula or diagnosis. Both have the New England facile use of analogy. Both have a sly humor of phrase. Thus Holmes describes a baby: "The little albuminous automaton is not sent into the world without an inheritance of depravity". (International Review, Vol. 9, p. 1.) And James speaks of "those two hundred pounds, more or less, of warmish albuminoid matter called Martin Luther". (Psychology, Vol. 1, p. 132.)



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in the opening pages of Pragmatism,¹ between the "tender-minded" and the "tough-minded" thinkers, has a parallel in Holmes' distinction between "coarse-fibred and fine-fibred people."² The relativity of truth, a fundamental idea with James,³ does not have a parallel in Holmes, but Holmes had a strong leaning toward the position. He thought that truth entered into different compounds in the minds of Smith and Brown. "Iron is essentially the same everywhere and always; but the sulphate of iron is never the same as the carbonate of iron. Truth is invariable; but the Smithate of truth must always differ from the Brownate of truth."⁴ Both men had a way of turning, in the final stage of an argument, to human nature; both ultimately made philosophy take a place subservient to human needs.

These points of resemblance are sufficient to show that Holmes and James were in the same line of development. The most important idea that they held in common I need but mention here --- the idea of the subconscious --- because its importance requires it to be developed at greater length later. Holmes and James were both

1. Pragmatism, p. 12.

2. The Poet, p. 275. Holmes later speaks of two kinds of Yankees. "Do you know two native trees called pitch-pine and white-pine respectively? . . . There are pitch-pine Yankees and white-pine Yankees." Holmes makes the distinction largely in the interest of heredity; it pleases his aristocratic taste; whereas James thinks of two types of the philosophic mind.

3. Pragmatism, p. 201-217. The Meaning of Truth, p. 287.

4. The Professor, p. 297. Holmes' position is a compromise between that of the transcendentalists, who thought truth to be absolute, and that of James, who thought it to be relative.

deeply impressed with the New England traditions. So far as heredity and home influence are concerned, James was near~~to~~ the original sources of introspection; for Holmes' father was only a Unitarian clergyman, a conservative one at that, whereas James' father communed with the transcendentalists, and was the high priest of Swedenborgian theology in America.¹ To offset this, however, James was thirty-three years younger than Holmes,² and came far more completely under the influence of the scientific age.

James' first book, the Psychology, was in process of writing for twenty years. The period between 1870 and 1890 was a time of changing views, the time of the rise of science, the founding of laboratories, and the triumph of the empirical method. The theory

1. It is impossible to give an adequate statement of Henry James' views in a few sentences. The center of his whole view of things was his intense conception of God as a creator. God made the world in two slow stages, the "formative" and the "redemptive", the period of Nature and the period of Society. Nature culminates in, while Society starts from, the moral and religious consciousness. Consciousness of self and conscience are the hinges upon which the process of creation turns. Insight or conviction gives two assurances: that individual man is nothing, but owes all to the race nature he inherits, and the society into which he is born; that the wise and loving Creator, having brought us safely as far as this, will carry us through and out into some triumphant harmony.

This account I condense from William James' introduction to The Literary Remains of the late Henry James, p. 13-20. It will suffice to show the prominent role of introspection. "My father's own disgust at any abstract statement of his system could hardly be excelled. . . I will not say that the logical relations of its terms were with him a mere afterthought; they were more organic than that. But the core and center of the thing in him was always instinct and attitude, something realized at a stroke, and felt like a fire in his breast; and all attempts at articulate verbal formulations of it were makeshifts of a more or less desperately impotent kind." (p. 15).

2. The dates of birth and death for the two men are:

Holmes, 1809-1894.
James, 1842-1910

evolution had established itself, and was applied to every field of knowledge. During this twenty years James had to decide whether to cast his fortunes with science or to prolong the battle for the transcendental ideas which were his birthright. The need for decision on this essential position, and inner debate about its application to numberless details, operated to postpone the date of publication. When the book actually appeared, in 1890, it was obvious that James had escaped the dilemma in a very simple way. He simply put the soul and other metaphysical abstractions on the shelf, for, as he says, although mental phenomena, such as desires, reasonings, decisions, can be explained as attributes of a simple entity, the personal soul, the vagueness of such an explanation puts it beyond the realm of science. He will allow the reader to superimpose any metaphysical entities whatever; for his part, he intends to keep "close to the point of view of natural science throughout the book."¹

This determination he carried out with some success -- considering the state of knowledge at the time.² The mind-dust theory, the theory of the existence of "unconscious states of mind", he

1. p. v. On page 4 James says, "The spiritualist and the associationist must both be 'cerebralists'." In the same way Holmes began his essay on "Mechanism in Thought and Morals" with the statement that he studied the brain merely as an organ of thought; and as to materialists and spiritualists, "the instrument must be studied by the one as much as by the other". --- Pages from an Old Volume of Life, p. 263.

2. I say considering the state of knowledge at the time, because much water has gone under the bridge since 1890, and there are psychologists today who find scientific mythology in such chapters as the ones on Sensation and the Stream of Thought.

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attacks courageously and categorically.¹ He remarks that Wundt and Helmholtz, who in their earlier writings had some enthusiasm for "unconscious reasoning", later took a colder interest in the theory.² For Hartmann, who "fairly boxes the compass of the universe with the principle of unconscious thought", he has not much sympathy.³ His conclusion is: "None of these facts, then, appealed to so confidently in proof of the existence of ideas in an unconscious state, prove anything of the sort. They prove either that conscious ideas were present which the next instant were forgotten; or they prove that certain results, similar to results of reasoning, may be wrought out by rapid brain-process to which no ideation is attached."⁴ There is only one 'phase' in which an idea can be, and that is a fully conscious condition. If it is not in that condition, then it is not at all. Something else is, in its place. That something else may be^a merely physical brain-process, or it may be another conscious idea.⁵

1. Psychology, Vol. 1, p. 164-173.

"Fourth Proof. Problems unsolved when we go to bed are found solved in the morning when we wake. Somnambulists do rational things. We awaken punctually at an hour predetermined overnight, etc. Unconscious thinking, volition, time-registration, etc., must have presided over these acts.

"Reply. Consciousness forgotten, as in the phynotic trance . . .

"Eighth Proof. Instincts, as pursuits of ends by appropriate means, are manifestations of intelligence; but as the ends are not foreseen, the intelligence must be unconscious.

"Reply. Chapter XXIV will show that all the phenomena of instinct are explicable as actions of the nervous system, mechanically discharged by stimuli to the senses."

2. p. 169.

3. Edward von Hartmann was the first German to elaborate the idea of the "unconscious". His first use of the idea was in 1869, eleven years after Holmes wrote the Autocrat. Schopenhauer also used and abused the idea.

4. p. 170.

5. p. 173.

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James willingly grants there are in the brain innumerable movements and physical processes, reverberations, echoes of internal processes but nothing which is unconscious deserves the name of thought or ideas. To believe that there are unconscious as well as conscious mental states is "the sovereign means for believing what one likes in psychology, and of turning what might become a science into a tumbling-ground for whimsies."¹

There is considerable evidence that James is not entirely at ease in applying the scientific method. He pauses at the end of each long argument over physiology, to assure the reader that he may, if he likes give a spiritual interpretation for what he, in the capacity of a man of science, is obliged to treat in intelligible terms. He pauses in a fatherly way at the end of a chapter, to assert that there is plenty of room for over-beliefs, but that, for the immediate purposes of science, they are not "necessary". In one place he compares the merits of introspection and experiment in making discoveries in psychology. He shows here quite plainly the influence of the New England past, and one cannot forbear comparing the passage with the old debate of Puritan days: whether the spirit and will of God were to be sought directly by the Inner Light, or in outward forms and scrupulous observance of the means of grace.

James gives introspection the first^{place} in his comparison. "Introspective Observation is what we have to rely on first and foremost and always." The word introspection need hardly be defined -- it means, of course, the looking into our own minds and reporting

1. p. 163.

what we there discover. Every one agrees that we there discover states of consciousness. So far as I know, the existence of such states has never been doubted by any critic, however skeptical in other respects he may have been. That we have cogitations of some sort is the inconcussum in a world most of whose other facts have at some time tottered in the breath of philosophic doubt."¹

But the experimental method, James continues, is now dominant. "Within a few years what one may call a microscopic psychology has arisen in Germany, carried on by experimental methods, asking of course every moment for introspective data, but eliminating their uncertainty by operating on a large scale and taking statistical means. This method taxes patience to the utmost, and could hardly have arisen in a country whose natives could be bored. Such Germans as Weber, Fechner, Vierordt, and Wundt obviously cannot. . . . The simple and open method of attack having done what it can, the method of patience, starving out, and harassing to death is tried; the Mind must submit to a regular siege, in which minute advantages gained night and day by the forces that hem her in must sum themselves up at last into her overthrow. There is little of the grand style about these new prism, pendulum, and chronograph-philosophers. They mean business, not chivalry. What generous divination, and that superiority in virtue which was thought by Cicero to give a man the best insight into nature, have failed to do, their spying and scraping, their deadly tenacity and almost diabolic cunning, will doubtless

1. Vol. 1, p. 185. James admits that the method of introspection is difficult and fallible, but "the difficulty is simply that of all observation of whatever kind" (p. 191).

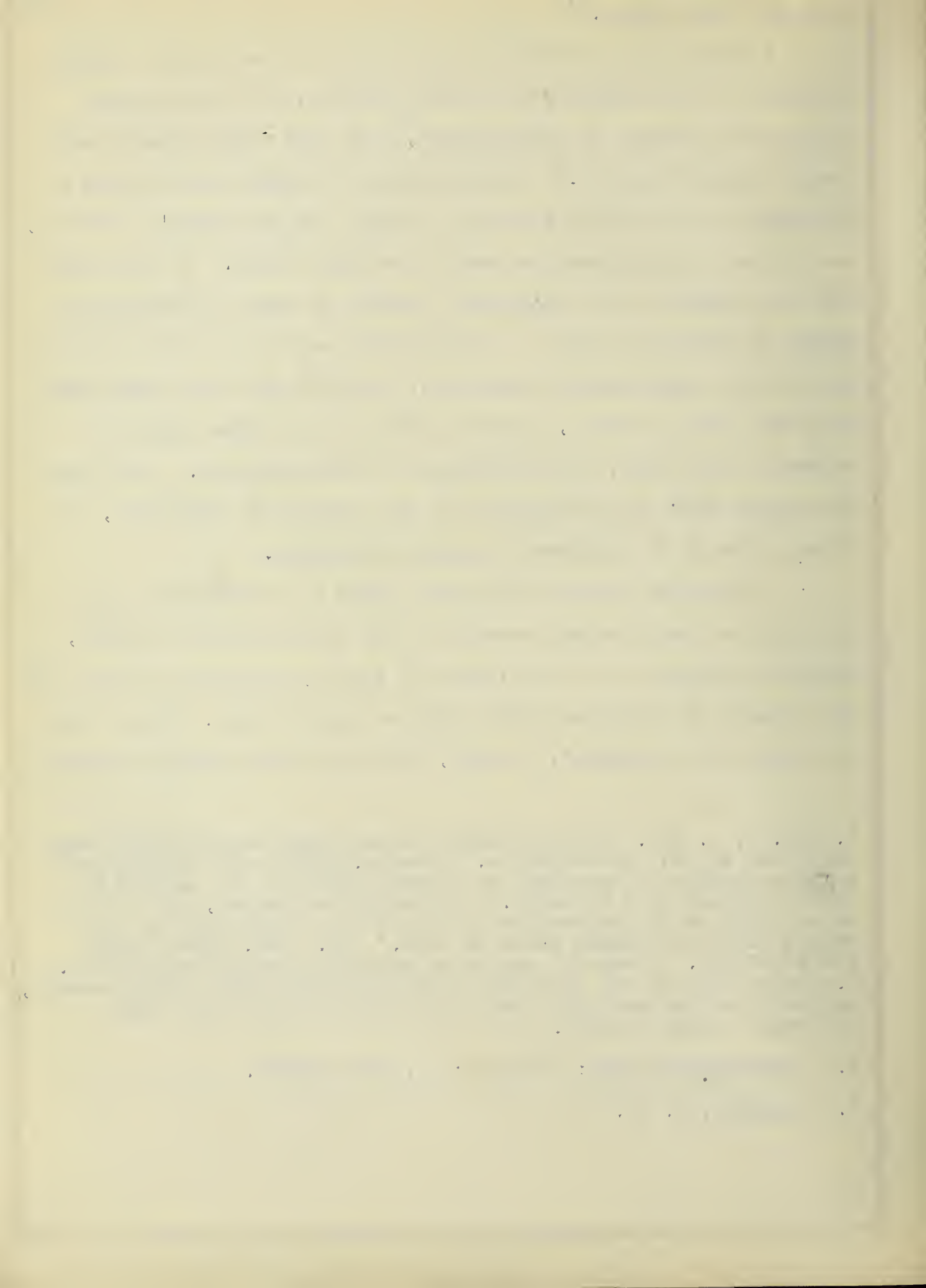
In this polite ridicule appears some of the old New England distaste for the minutiae of logical thought, for what Emerson called "this plague of microscopes",² and what Holmes named "ant-eating" specialization.³ Psychology was for James not so much a business as a chivalric tradition; he had the sportsman's instinct, and liked to bring down the game in the open field. If one reads the two volumes of the Psychology pencil in hand and separately marks the passages based on introspection and those which show the mark of the experimental laboratory, one will find that more than half the total contents, including most of the ideas which we commonly call "big", are the product of introspection. And often when James does quote authority or the results of experiment, he brings them in to reinforce his pre-convictions.

I presume the most brilliant piece of introspection in the work is the extended passage in "The Consciousness of Self", where he plunges in to the citadel of the Me, resolved to bring the very center of existence forth into the light of day. "Let us try to settle for ourselves", he says, "just how this central nucleus

1. Vol. 1, p. 192. Another aspect of empirical method which James ridiculed is the questionnaire. "Messrs. Darwin and Galton have set the example of circulars of questions out by the hundred to those supposed able to reply. The custom has spread, and it will be well for us in the next generation if such circulars be not ranked among the common pests of life." (p. 194). These words are prophetic. James did not often resort to public inquisition. G. Stanley Hall is the godfather of the questionnaire in this country, and Hall has the zeal for statistical brute facts which James ridiculed in the Germans.

2. Representative Men: "Goethe: or, The Writer".

3. The Poet, p. 82.



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of the Self may feel! The continuity or "stream" which seems to be the central fact of conscious life, is, he says, not an abstraction; it is felt as is the body or any object with which we have sensible acquaintance. Can we tell precisely what the feeling of this central active self is? James says, "I think I can in my own case."

"First of all, I am aware of a constant play of furtherances and hindrances in my thinking, of checks and releases, tendencies which run with desire and tendencies which run the other way. Among the matters I think of, some range themselves on the side of the thought's interests, whilst others play an unfriendly part thereto. The mutual inconsistencies and agreements, reinforcements and obstructions, which obtain amongst these objective matters reverberate backwards and produce what seem to be incessant reactions of my spontaneity upon them, welcoming or opposing, appropriating or disowning, striving with or against, saying yes or no. This palpitating inward life is, in me, that central nucleus which I just tried to describe in terms that all men might use.

"But when I forsake such general descriptions and grapple with particulars, coming to the closest possible quarters with the facts, it is difficult for me to detect in the activity any purely spiritual element at all. Whenever my introspective glance succeeds in turnin round quickly enough to catch one of these manifestations of spontaneity in the act, all it can ever feel distinctly is some bodily process, for the most part taking place within the head. Omitting for a moment what is obscure in these introspective results, let me try to state those particulars which to my own consciousness seem indubitable and distinct.

"In the first place, the acts of attending, assenting, negating, making an effort, are felt as movements of something in the

head. In many cases it is possible to describe these movements quite exactly. In attending to either an idea or a sensation belonging^{ing} to a particular sense-sphere, the movement is the adjustment of the sense-organ, felt as it occurs. I cannot think in visual terms, for example, without feeling a fluctuating play of pressures, convergences, divergences, and accommodations in my eyeballs. The direction in which the object is conceived to lie determines the character of these movements, the feeling of which becomes, for my consciousness, identified with the manner in which I make myself ready to receive the visible thing. My brain appears to me as if all shot across with lines of direction, of which I have become conscious as my attention has shifted from one sense-organ to another, in passing to successive outer things, or in following trains of varying sense-ideas.

"When I try to remember or reflect, the movements in question, instead of being directed towards the periphery, seem to come from the periphery inwards and feel like a sort of withdrawal from the outer world. As far as I can detect, these feelings are due to an actual rolling outwards and upwards of the eyeballs, such as I believe occurs in me in sleep, and is the exact opposite of their action in fixing a physical thing. In reasoning, I find that I am apt to have a kind of vaguely localized diagram in my mind, with the various fractional objects of the thought disposed at particular points thereof; and the oscillations of my attention from one of them to another are most distinctly felt as alternations of direction in movements occurring inside of the head.

"In consenting and negating, and in making a mental effort, the movements seem more complex, and I find them harder to describe.

The opening and closing of the glottis play a great part in these operations, and, less distinctly, the movements of the soft palate, etc., shutting off the posterior nares from the mouth. My glottis is like a sensitive valve, intercepting my breath instantaneously at every mental hesitation or felt aversion to the objects of my thought, and as quickly opening, to let the air pass through my throat and nose, the moment the repugnance is overcome. The feeling of the movement of this air is, in me, one strong ingredient of the feeling of assent. The movements of the muscles of the brow and eyelids also respond very sensitively to every fluctuation in the agreeableness and disagreeableness of what comes before my mind.

"In effort of any sort, contractions of the jaw-muscles and of those of respiration are added to those of the brow and glottis, and thus the feeling passes out of the head properly so called. It passes out of the head whenever the welcoming or rejecting of the object is strongly felt. Then a set of feelings pour in from many bodily parts, all 'expressive' of my emotion, and the head-feelings proper are swallowed up in this larger mass.

"In a sense, then, it may be truly said that, in one person at least, the 'Self of selves,' when carefully examined, is found to consist mainly of the collection of these peculiar motions in the head or between the head and throat. I do not for a moment say that this is all it consists of, for I fully realize how desperately hard is introspection in this field. But I feel quite sure that these cephalic motions are the portions of my innermost activity of which I am most distinctly aware. If the dim portions which I cannot yet define should prove to be like unto these distinct portions in me, and I like other men, it would follow that our entire feeling of spiritual activity, or what commonly passes by that name,

is really a feeling of bodily activities whose exact nature is by
¹
 most men overlooked."

The subtlety of these movements within the head incessantly repeated, constant amid great fluctuations in the rest of the mind's content, keeps us, James says, from introspectively paying much attention to them; but they are the background of the mind. "Everything arouses them; for objects which have no other effects will for a moment contract the brow and make the glottis close. It is as if all that visited the mind had to stand an entrance-examination. . . . These permanent reactions are like the opening and closing of the door. In the midst of psychic change they are the permanent core of turnings-towards and turnings-from, of yieldings and arrests, which naturally seem central and interior in comparison with the foreign matters, apropos to which they occur. . . . It would not be surprising, then, if we were to feel them as the birthplace of conclusions and the starting point of acts, or if they came to appear as what we called a while back the 'sanctuary within the citadel' of our personal life."² If James had allowed the argument to rest here, if certain movements were really the inner sanctuary, were all the ultimate self, then all experience would be objective. Objective experience would fall into two parts, the "self" and the "not-self". But at this point James begins to hedge, and to provide room for super-beliefs and metaphysical entities. The consciousness of the knowing, the continued awareness of the process of thinking,

1. Vol. 1, p. 299-302.

2. Vol. 1, p. 302.

is perhaps, he says, another element of the Self. And with a note that he will recur to this mysterious element of the Self later he leaves the subject.

The book continues with more or less scientific rigor to Chapter 28, the end, and here an amazing thing happens. After thirteen hundred pages of sober empirical reasoning, one rather expects James to conclude as he began; but he suddenly launches into metaphysics, and gives expression to the over-beliefs which he had held in check so long. He inquires, Are there any a-priori elements in the mind, or are there not? He proceeds to tell us what he thinks of metaphysics, at the very moment when he is at the height of his success in psychology.

He says, in brief, that he believes in a-priorism. The mind has capacities which cannot be accounted for by experience, either of the individual or of the race.¹ "Our higher aesthetic, moral, and intellectual life seems made up of affections . . . which have entered the mind by the back stairs, as it were, or rather have not entered the mind at all, but got surreptitiously born in the house. . . The way of 'experience' proper is the front door, the door of the five senses."² The agents which affect the brain in this way immediately become the mind's objects. The other agents do not. It would be simply silly to say of two men with perhaps equal effective skill in drawing, one an untaught natural genius, the other a mere

1. Vol. II, p. 617.

2. One cannot help remembering Holmes' use of a similar phrase: "Every person's feelings have a front-door and a side-door". --- The Autocrat, p. 128.

obstinate plodder in the studio, that both alike owe their skill to their 'experience.' The reasons of their several skills lie in wholly disparate natural cycles of causation."¹

"Back-stairs ideas" he calls them. Kant would have hunted around for a big word.² Just what the back-stairs ideas are, James soon reveals. He gives the "elementary mental categories" in a formal list --- he must have been collecting and perfecting it for years. They are: "1. Elementary sorts of sensation, and feelings of personal activity; 2. Emotions; desires; instincts; ideas of worth; aesthetic ideas;"³ and so on, there being seven main items in the list. James expands each one of the ideas in turn. In the process he proves himself a son of old New England. His emphasis here (as through all his work) is on personality; personality goes very deep. Healthy instincts, sentiments, taste, he conceives --- like Holmes, like Lowell, like Emerson, like scores of New Englanders whose influence had been strong on him for years --- are the necessary foundation for the mind. He ends his chapter with a playful attack on science; after leading us through thirteen hundred pages of sober analysis, he tells us that science is a grand hypothesis with a dash of imagination, that life has uncharted regions where science has hardly taken soundings. The strangeness and surprise of this I can only describe by saying that it is as if Huxley had written a two-

1. Vol. II, p. 627.

2. James berates Kant all through the book. And at the end, when we expect to see him finish his attack, it turns out that he practically says to Kant, I agree with you about a-priori ideas.

3. p. 629.

volume essay, and turned it over to Emerson to write the last chapter.

James calls science a modern idol. "The aspiration to be 'scientific' is . . . an idol of the tribe to the present generation".¹ When he began to write the *Psychology*, in or about 1870, the new scientific ideas were, one might say, in the flush of youth. But in 1890, when the book drew to a close, the ideas of evolution and scientific method had made a world-wide conquest,² so that it became a matter of doubt, in the field of the mental and spiritual, at least, whether the braver part was to fight for them or against them. The character of scholarship had changed.³ James seemed to look on Boston and Worcester as over-ridden by intellectualism. The generation of poets had passed, the Cambridge men of "universal" minds, men like Agassiz and Longfellow, had gone; and in their place were "clever" people, brilliant but shallow, people who never went by their instincts, but went by book and rule, walked not unlike the

1. p. 640. The statement is made apropos of the letter of a Turkish cadi to an English scientist. This is one of the most pleasant and humorous passages in James' work, and the moral of it escapes many readers. The moral is that there are lots of men who get born somehow, marry, raise children, grow old and die. They never become machines, nor lose a sense of values. They never lose their sense of proportion in "the altogether peculiar and one-sided subjective interest" which science is.

2. The statement that science is "sucked in with his mother's milk by every one of us" (p. 640) is repeated many times in the later works. Thus *Pragmatism*, p. 14. "Never were as many men of a decidedly empiricist proclivity in existence as there are at the present day. Our children, one may say, are almost born scientific."

3. When James was in youth and early manhood, Harvard could boast of teachers like Longfellow, Norton, Lowell, Holmes; men with whom the danger was, if anything, that they would not be scientific enough. By the time the *Psychology* was completed, the danger seemed to lie in another direction. With mild irony in his *Talks to Teachers* (p. 7ff), James says that all we have to do now is to impregnate our organized education with geniuses.

Puritans of the earlier day in strict observance of the outward means of intellectual grace.

The facts seem to suggest that James had in a mild and subtle form, one of the dual personalities or divided selves about which he wrote so often with understanding and sympathy. One self he inherited from his father, the Swedenborgian mystic, from Emerson, and from the New England past. The other self he acquired in the dissecting room of the medical school, from travel, from reading all the text-books of an empirical age. It must not be forgotten that James often exchanged chairs at Harvard, with the idealist Royce, and that in the opening pages of Pragmatism, speaking of the eternally opposed ideas of philosophy, he says that normal human nature has a hankering for the good things on both sides of the line.¹ In the concluding chapter of the Psychology the struggle between the two Jameses is more keen and protracted than elsewhere. At one and the same time James minimizes the importance of science in the field of philosophy, and rejoices at its progress in the field of psychology.² He throws over to science a large part of his cargo of ideas, as if to effect a greater security for certain philosophical beliefs which he desired to keep.

1. Pragmatism, p. 13.

2. The reason why James did not follow the theory of the subconscious into the field of heredity, as Holmes had done, may have been that Weismann saved him the trouble. In 1883 Weismann announced, and proved to the satisfaction of naturalists, that characteristics acquired during the lifetime of a parent cannot be transmitted to offspring. James acknowledges and agrees with Weismann's findings (p. 686).

James' Later Position

We have seen that in 1885¹ James championed introspection, and the existence in the mind of ideas beyond the reach of science and the empirical method, ideas which came up the back-stairs instead of entering through the front door of the senses, that the mystical element in James, in the concluding chapter of the Psychology, appeared to be in the ascendent. In The Varieties of Religious Experience, a series of popular lectures printed in 1902, the hope for new discoveries in the field of the subconscious reappears. The principal subject under discussion is conversion, and related phenomena of the religious life, and the meaning they have for a professional psychologist. It is somewhat difficult to give a condensed account of the manner in which James introduces the subject of the subconscious. I shall therefore *give* a somewhat extended quotation.

"In the volitional type the regenerative change is usually gradual, and consists in the building up, piece by piece, of a new set of moral and spiritual habits. But there are always critical points here at which the movement forward seems much more rapid. This psychological fact is abundantly illustrated by Dr. Starbuck. Our education in any practical accomplishment proceeds apparently by jerks and starts, just as the growth of our physical bodies does.

1. The Psychology was not published until 1890, but on page 686, Vol. 2, James says that the last chapter stands practically as it was written in 1885. "I proceeded at that time to draw a tentative conclusion to the effect that the origin of most of our instincts must certainly be deemed fruits of the back-door method of genesis, and not of ancestral experience in the proper meaning of the term."

'An athlete . . . sometimes awakens suddenly to an understanding of the fine points of the game and to a real enjoyment of it, just as the convert awakens to an appreciation of religion. If he keeps on engaging in the sport, there may come a day when all at once the game plays itself through him --- when he loses himself in some great contest. In the same way, a musician may suddenly reach a point at which pleasure in the technique of the art entirely falls away and in some moment of inspiration he becomes the instrument through which music flows. The writer has chanced to hear two different married persons, both of whose wedded lives had been beautiful from the beginning relate that not until a year or more after marriage did they awake to the full blessedness of married life. So it is with the religious experience of these persons we are studying.'

"We shall ere long hear still more remarkable illustrations of subconsciously maturing processes eventuating in results of which we suddenly grow conscious. Sir William Hamilton and Professor Laycock of Edinburgh were among the first to call attention to this class of effects; but Dr. Carpenter first, unless I am mistaken, introduced the term 'unconscious cerebration', which has since then been a popular phrase of explanation. The facts are now known to us far more extensively than he could know them, and the adjective 'unconscious' being for many of them almost certainly a misnomer, is better replaced by the vaguer term 'subconscious' or 'subliminal'.

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. . . .

"What, now, must we ourselves think of this question? Is an instantaneous conversion a miracle in which God is present as he

is present in no change of heart less strikingly abrupt? Are there two classes of human beings, even among the apparently regenerate, of which the one class really partakes of Christ's nature while the other merely seems to do so? Or, on the contrary may the whole phenomenon of regeneration even in these startling instantaneous examples, possibly be a strictly natural process, divine in its fruits, of course, but in one case more and in another less so, and neither more or less divine in its mere causation and mechanism than any other process, high or low, of man's interior life?

"Before proceeding to answer this question, I must ask you to listen to some more psychological remarks. At our last lecture, I explained the shifting of men's centres of personal energy within them and the lighting up of new crises of emotion. I explained the phenomena as partly due to explicitly conscious processes of thought and will, but as due largely also to the subconscious incubation and maturing of motives deposited by the experiences of life. When ripe, the results hatch out, or burst into flower. I have now to speak of the subconscious region, in which such processes of flowering may occur, in a somewhat less vague way. I only regret that my limits of time here force me to be so short.

"The expression 'field of consciousness' has but recently come into vogue in the psychology books. Until quite lately the unit of mental life which figured most was the single 'idea' supposed to be a definitely outlined thing. But at present psychologists are tending, first, to admit that the actual unit is more probably the total mental state, the entire wave of consciousness or field of objects present to the thought at any time; and, second, to see that it is impossible to outline this wave, this field, with any definiteness.

"And having reached this point I must now ask you to recall what I said in my last lecture about the subconscious life. I said, as you may recollect, that those who first laid stress upon these phenomena could not know the facts as we now know them. My first duty now is to tell you what I meant by such a statement.

"I cannot but think that the most important step forward that has occurred in psychology since I have been a student of that science is the discovery, first made in 1886, that, in certain subjects at least, there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual center and margin, but an addition thereto in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts, and feelings which are extra marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs. I call this the most important step forward because, unlike the other advances which psychology has made, this discovery has revealed to us an entirely unsuspected peculiarity in the constitution of human nature. No other step forward which psychology has made can proffer any such claim as this."¹

"In the wonderful explorations by Binet, Janet, Brewer, Freud, Mason, Prince, and others of the subliminal consciousness of patients with hysteria, we have revealed to us whole systems of underground life, in the shape of memories of a painful sort which had a parasitic existence, buried outside of the primary fields of consciousness, and making irruptions thereinto with hallucinations, pains, convulsions, paralyses of feeling and of motion, and the

1. . . p. 230.

whole procession of symptoms of hysteric disease of body and of mind. Alter or abolish by suggestion these subconscious memories, and the patient immediately gets well. His symptoms were automatisms, in Mr. Myer's sense of the word. These clinical records sound like fairy-tales when one first reads them, yet it is impossible to doubt their accuracy; and, the path having been once opened by these first observers, similiar observations have been made elsewhere. They throw, as I said, a wholly new light upon our natural constitution. And it seems to me that they make a farther step inevitable. . . .¹

"But if you, being orthodox Christians, ask me as a psychologist whether the reference of a phenomenon to a subliminal self does not exclude the notion of the direct presence of the Deity altogether, I have to say frankly that as a psychologist I do not see why it necessarily should. The lower manifestations of the Subliminal, indeed, fall within the resources of the personal subject: his ordinary sense-material, inattentively taken in and subconsciously remembered and combined, will account for all his usual automatisms. But just as our primary wide-awake consciousness throws open our senses to the touch of things material, so it is logically conceivable that if there be higher spiritual agencies that can directly touch us, the psychological condition of their doing so might be our possession of a subconscious region which alone should yield access to them. The hubbub of the waking life might close a door which in the dreamy Subliminal might remain ajar or open.

1. p. 234.

"I confess that this is the way in which I should rather see the topic left lying in your minds until I come to a much later lecture, when I hope once more to gather these dropped threads together into more definitive conclusions. The notion of a subconscious self certainly ought not at this point of our inquiry to be held to exclude all notion of a higher penetration. If there be higher powers able to impress us, they may get access to us only through the subliminal door."¹

After this study of conversion, James turns to consider the more rare and extreme type of religious experience known as "revelation", and discusses at length the mystical experiences of such men as George Fox. The explanation of this also he finds in the operation of the subconscious, or, as he seems to prefer to call it when speaking about religion, the subliminal. "When, in addition to these phenomena of inspiration, we take religious mysticism into the account, when we recall the striking and sudden unifications of a discordant self which we saw in conversion, and when we review the extravagant obsessions of tenderness, purity, and self-severity met with in saintliness, we cannot, I think, avoid the conclusion that in religion we have a department of human nature with unusually close relations to the transmarginal or subliminal region. If the word 'subliminal' is offensive to any of you, as smelling too much of psychical research or other aberrations, call it by any other name you please, to distinguish it from the level of full sunlit consciousness. Call this latter the A-region of personality, if you care to, and call the other the B-region. The B-region, then, is

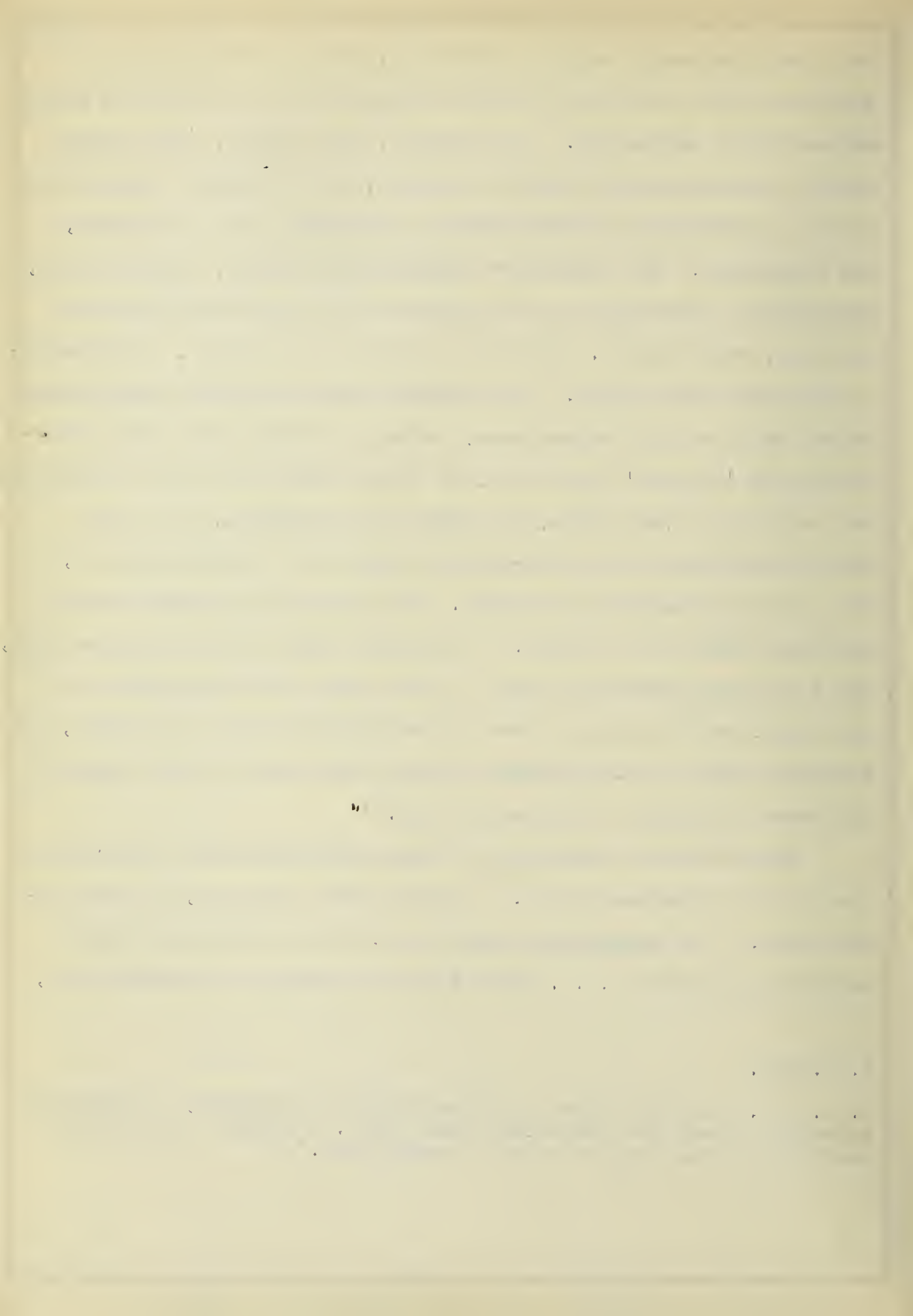
1. p. 242.

obviously the larger part of each of us, for it is the abode of everything that is latent and the reservoir of everything that passes unrecorded or unobserved. It contains, for example, such things as all our momentarily inactive memories, and it harbors the springs of all our obscurely motivated passions, impulses, likes, dislikes, and prejudices. Our intuitions, hypotheses, fancies, superstitions, persuasions, convictions, and in general all our non-rational operations, come from it. It is the source of our dreams, and apparently they may return to it. In it arise whatever mystical experiences we may have, and our automatisms, sensory or motor; our life in hypnotic and 'hypnoid' conditions, if we are subjects to such conditions; our delusions, fixed ideas, and hysterical accidents, if we are hysteric subjects; our supra-normal cognitions, if such there be, and if we are telepathic subjects. It is also the fountain-head of much that feeds our religion. In persons deep in the religious life, as we have now abundantly seen, --- and this is my conclusion, -- the door into this region seems unusually wide open; at any rate, experiences making their entrance through that door have had emphatic influence in shaping religious history.¹"

James does not undertake to explain how spiritual forces operate in the subliminal region.² But the facts, he says, are well established. "The subconscious self is nowadays a well-accredited psychological entity . . . Apart from all religious considerations,

1. p. 483.

2. p. 270. "If the Grace of God miraculously operates, it probably operates through the subliminal door, then. But just how anything operates in this region is still unexplained."



there is actually and literally more life in our total soul than we are at any time aware of. The exploration of the transmarginal field has hardly yet been seriously undertaken, but what Mr. Myers said in 1892 in his essay on the Subliminal Consciousness¹ is true as when it was first written: "Each of us is in reality an abiding psychical entity far more extensive than he knows -- an individuality which can never express itself completely through any corporeal manifestation. The Self manifests ^{its} through the organism; but there is always some part of the Self unmanifested; and always, as it seems, some power of organic expression in abeyance or reserve. Much of the content of this larger background against which our conscious being stands out in relief is insignificant. Imperfect memories, silly jingles, inhibitive timidities, 'dissolutive' phenomena of various sorts, as Myers calls them, enter into it for a large part. But in it many of the performances of genius seem also to have their origin; and in our study of conversion, of mystical experiences, and of prayer, we have seen how striking a part invasions from this region play in the religious life.

"Let me then propose, as an hypothesis, that whatever it may be on its farther side, the 'more' with which in religious experience we feel ourselves connected is on its hither side the subconscious continuation of our conscious life. Starting thus with a recognized psychological fact as our basis, we seem to preserve a contact with 'science' which the ordinary theologian lacks. At the same time the

1. Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, Vol. VII, p. 305.

theologian's contention that the religious man is moved by an external power is vindicated, for it is one of the peculiarities of invasions from the subconscious region to take on objective appearances, and to suggest to the Subject an external control. In the religious life the control is felt as 'higher'; but since on our hypothesis it is primarily the higher faculties of our own hidden mind which are controlling, the sense of union with the power beyond us is a sense of something, not merely apparently, but literally true.

"This doorway into the subject seems to me the best one for a science of religions, for its mediates between a number of different points of view. Yet it is only a doorway, and difficulties present themselves as soon as we step through it, and ask how far our transmarginal consciousness carries us if we follow it on its remoter side. Here the over-beliefs begin: here mysticism and the conversion-rapture and Vedantism and transcendental idealism bring in their monistic interpretations and tell us that the finite self rejoins the absolute self, for it was always one with God and identical with the soul of the world. Here the prophets of all the different religions come with their visions, voices, raptures and other openings, supposed by each to authenticate his own peculiar faith.

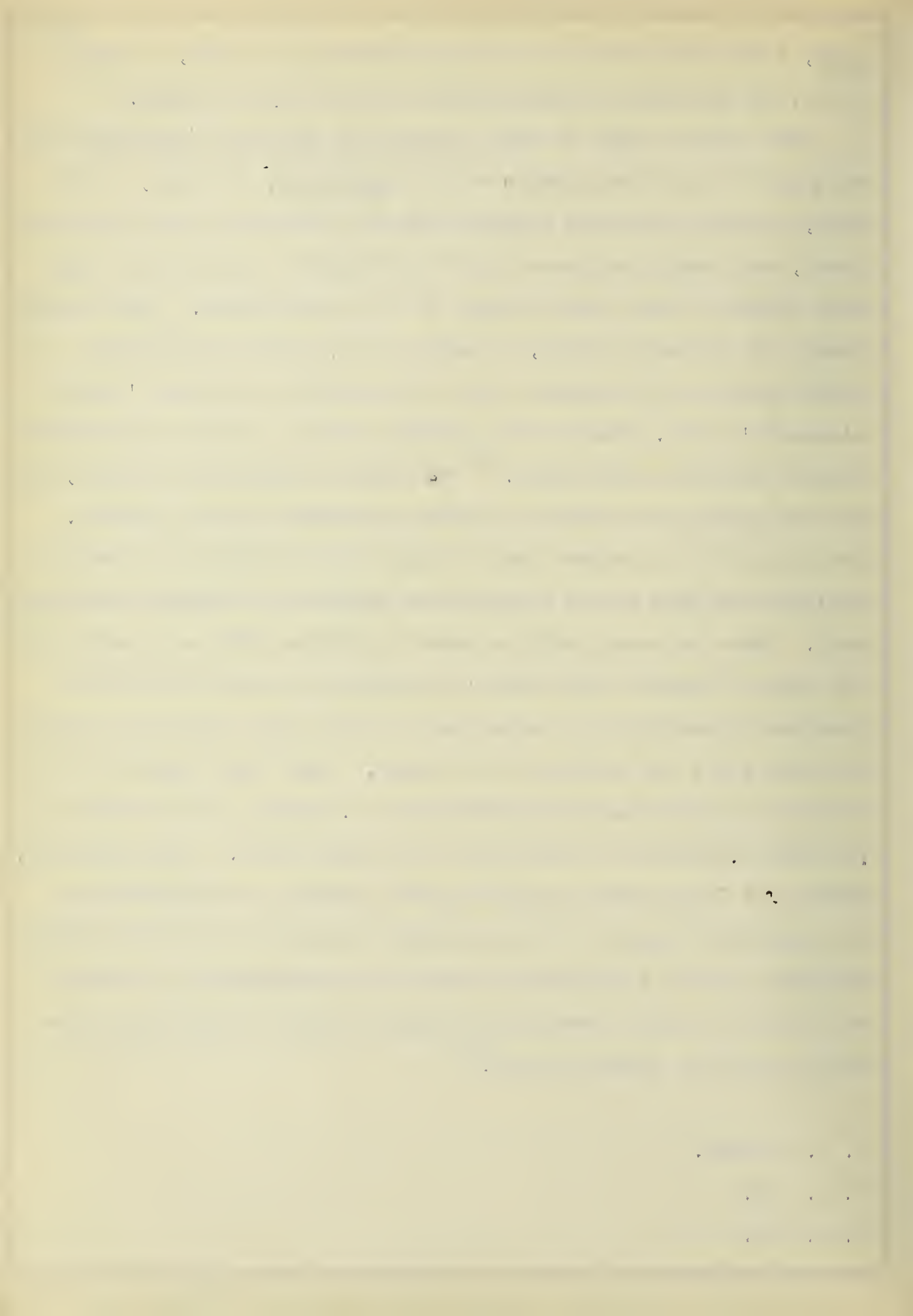
"Those of us who are not personally favored with such specific revelations must stand outside of them altogether and, for the present at least, decide that, since they corroborate incompatible theological doctrines, they neutralize one another and leave no fixed result. . . .

"Disregarding the over-beliefs, and confining ourselves to what is common and generic, we have in the fact that the conscious person is continuous with a wider self through which saving experiences

come, a positive content of religious experience which, it seems to me, is literally and objectively true as far as it goes.¹

The closing pages of The Varieties of Religious Experience remind one of the closing pages of the Psychology, for here, as before, the mystical James escapes from the restraint of the scientist James, and frankly expresses the "over-beliefs" which he has long kept stored in some remote corner of his intelligence. "The further limits of our being plunge, it seems to me, into an altogether other dimension of existence from the sensible and merely 'understandable' world. Name it the mystical region, or the supernatural region, whichever you choose."² We need not follow him farther, for we have already secured all the facts necessary for our purpose. Our purpose is to observe that in this book of popular lectures on religion the idea of the subconscious reaches an elaborate development. There is occasionally a note of optimism such as sounded in the pages of Emerson and Holmes; the reader is made to feel that important discoveries lie ahead, made to feel that there is a rational basis for a new revival of old hopes. Thus James speaks of the work of his fellow psychic-researcher, Mr. Myers, as if it were a preliminary survey for operations on a large scale. Myers proposed, James says, "as a general psychological problem the exploration of the subliminal region of consciousness throughout its whole extent, and made the first methodical steps in its topography by treating as a natural series a mass of subliminal facts hitherto considered only as curious isolated facts."³

- 1. p. 511-515.
- 2. p. 515.
- 3. p. 511.



most extensive flight into the subliminal world; it was his last.¹
The scientific James now took the helm, and steered in quite another direction, so that when the article Does 'Consciousness' Exist? appeared in 1904, it seemed to undermine all the arguments which the preceding book had built up. Just as the last chapter of the Psychology is an unexpected reaction against the science of the earlier chapters, the article Does 'Consciousness' Exist? is a reaction against the lectures on religion. The scientist James took full revenge for the dissipation in which the mystical James had indulged.

In a few words at the beginning of the article the history of the problem is sketched. "At first, 'spirit and matter,' 'soul and body,' stood for a pair of equipollent substances quite on a par in weight and interest. But one day Kant undermined the soul and brought in the transcendental ego, and ever since then the bipolar relation has been very much off its balance. The transcendental ego seems nowadays in rationalist quarters to stand for everything, in empiricist quarters for almost nothing. In the hands of such writers as Schuppe, Rehmke, Natorp, Munsterberg --- at any rate in his earlier writings. Schubert-Soldern and others, the spiritual principal attenuates itself to a thoroughly ghostly condition, being only a name for the fact that the 'content' of experience is known.

. . .

"I believe that 'consciousness,' when once it has evaporated to this estate of pure diaphaneity, is on the point of disappearing

1. I mean that it was his last systematic treatment of the theory. There are dashes of it in later articles, particularly those treating his favorite pastime, psychic research.



altogether. It is the name of a nonentity, and has no right to a place among first principles. Those who still cling to it are clinging to a mere echo, the faint rumor left behind by the disappearing 'soul' upon the air of philosophy. During the past year, I have read a number of articles whose authors seemed just on the point of abandoning the notion of consciousness, and substituting for it that of an absolute experience not due to two factors. But they were not quite radical enough, not quite daring enough in their negations. For twenty years past I have mistrusted 'consciousness' as an entity; for seven or eight years past I have suggested its non-existence to my students, and tried to give them its pragmatic equivalent in realities of experience. It seems to me that the hour¹ is ripe for it to be openly and universally discarded."

It soon becomes clear that James does not deny that "thoughts" exist; he denies the existence of any quality^{behind thought} different from and contrasted with that from which material objects are made.² There is a function which thoughts perform, called Knowing, but this, he proceeds to show, can be explained without calling in a new entity called "consciousness". As for the persons who know they are conscious, who feel thought flowing as a life within, who have an immediate intuition that the thought within them is totally unlike the objects in the external world which it accompanies, James has this final statement.

1. Essays in Radical Empiricism, p. 1-3. The essay Does 'Consciousness' Exist? was first printed in the Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, Vol. I, No. 18; September, 1904.

2. Essays in Radical Empiricism, p. 3.

"My reply to this is my last word, and I greatly grieve that to many it will sound materialistic. I can not help that, however, for I, too, have my intuitions and I must obey them. Let the case be what it may in others, I am as confident as I am of anything that, in myself, the stream of thinking (which I recognize emphatically as a phenomenon) is only a careless name for what, when scrutinized, reveals itself to consist chiefly of the stream of my breathing. The 'I think' which Kant said must be able to accompany all my objects, is the 'I breathe' which actually does accompany them. There are other internal facts besides breathing (intracerebral muscular adjustments, etc., of which I have said a word in my larger Psychology), and these increase the assets of 'consciousness,' so far as the latter is subject to immediate perception; but breath, which was ever the original of 'spirit,' breath moving outwards, between the glottis and the nostrils, is, I am persuaded, the essence out of which philosophers have constructed the entity known to them as consciousness. That entity is fictitious, while thoughts in the concrete are fully real. But thoughts in the concrete are made of the same stuff as things are."¹

We have here the culmination of the idea of the self which Emerson and the transcendentalists cultivated with so much enthusiasm. When the poets and prophets of the inner life were holding communion with the over-soul, the core of the experience was really blood-pressures, movements of the diaphragm, the titillation of epigastric nerves, and the irritation of the breath in the throat. These gave

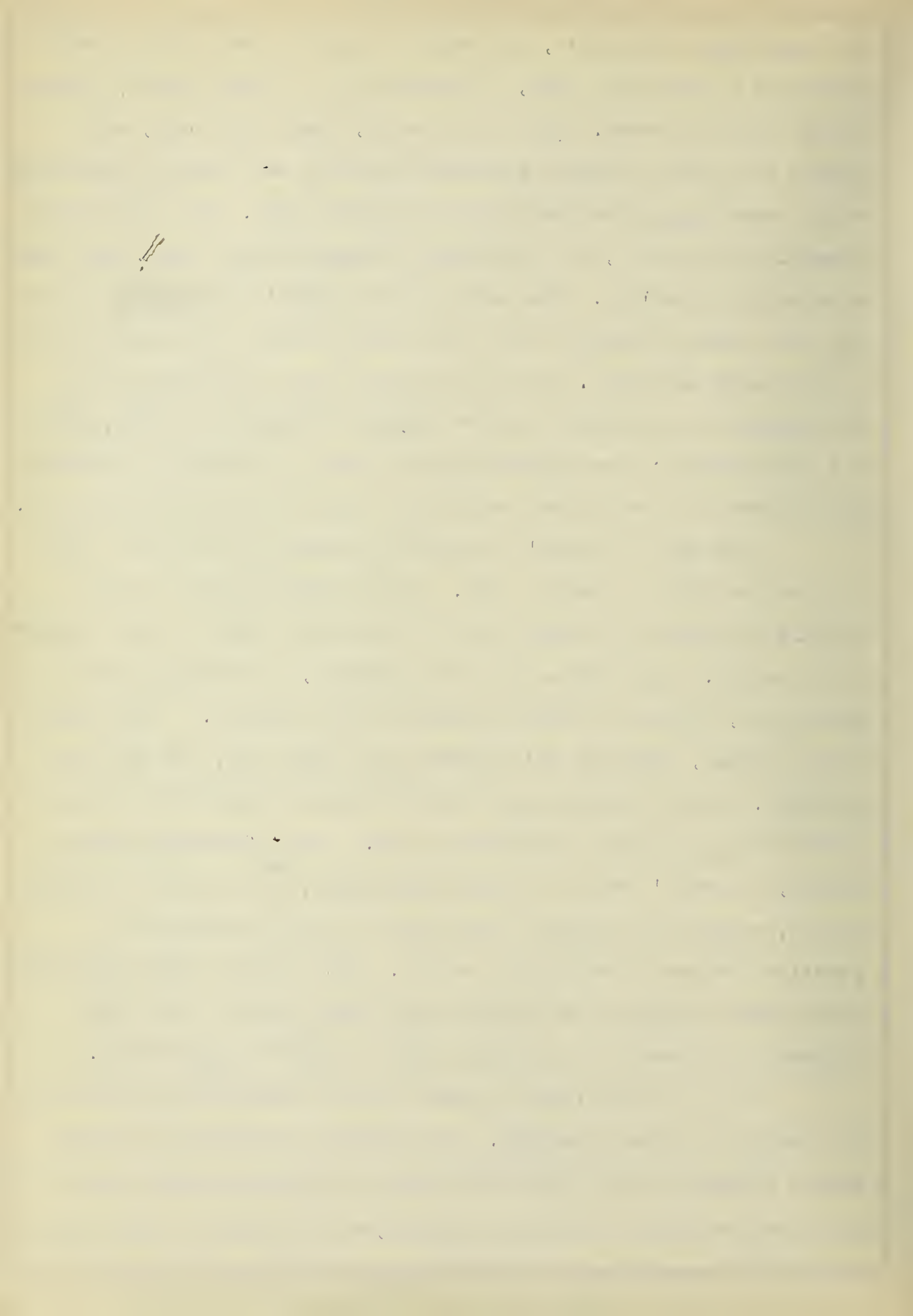
1. Essays in Radical Empiricism, p. 36.

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the experience continuity, and made the subject feel that he had come upon a deep-lying self, a new being of a strange order, unknown to the world of sense. This inner world, James now holds, was largely fictitious; certain bewildered persons had certain experiences which seemed as if they belonged to another realm. The experiences themselves were real, but the hopes and expectations based upon them were largely fanciful. The most real and deep life consists in entering into proper relations with the outside world, not in retiring to a cloistered seclusion. The final word of this brilliant son of New England is therefore that New England had made a mistake, that the development of two centuries was in vain, in so far as it sought the discovery of new forces beyond the realm of sensuous experience.

How many of James' own earlier beliefs survived the shift to this new basis is hard to say. James himself never took the trouble to explain just what ones of his early ideas he had outgrown or discarded. The "stream of consciousness", as treated in the psychology, is now of course divested of its mystery. The "backstairs ideas", itemized and defended with such care, are now discredited. As to the status of the subconscious under the new pronouncement, it is more difficult to say. The subconscious still exists, in James' "world of pure experience", ^{as an} obvious fact of human nature, avouched by medical statistics; it still exists as a practical source of religious comfort. But the old glamor and other worldliness are gone, the buoyant and poetic quality that kept Thoreau and Holmes in a lifelong state of hopeful expectation.

It is not difficult to point out the spring and motive for the denial of "consciousness". The theory of evolution, having made a conquest in the field of biology, was successively applied to political economy, sociology, religion, and practically every depart-



ment of knowledge. It was inevitable that it should affect philosophy. One of the distinctive principles of the theory of evolution is the adaptation of the organism to environment. And to the extension of this principle the concept of consciousness offered innumerable difficulties. The psychologist and the evolution-philosopher must explain everything in terms of stimulus and response. There is an environment, and a "nervous mechanism", and any scientist who strays far from a simple relation between these two terms, gets into trouble. Any proposition that cannot be reduced or translated into a relation of stimulus and response, raises, soon or later, an insoluble problem. The simplest and most rational way to abolish the problems is to abolish consciousness. Adaptation to environment suffices to explain the deeper puzzles of philosophy, or at least explains them better than an appeal to a mythical unifying principle called "consciousness". A great many refinements are introduced later, but this crude sketch represents the beginning, at least, of the evolutionist's line of thought.

In the opening pages of the Psychology it is evident that James is trying to adopt the scientific method; but he does not break away from his super-beliefs; he only shoves them into the background. By the year 1904, the scientific method had made great headway in philosophy, and James formulated a list of his contemporaries who had felt its influence.¹ He took courage, and finding it more to his taste to fight in the van than in the rear, he boldly cast aside "consciousness", allowing his over-beliefs to shift for

1. Essays in Radical Empiricism, p. 2.

themselves, or find new means of support.

Into the later work of James, I need not enter. There are occasional revivals, especially after the influence of Bergson made itself felt, of the mystical strain. There are many new hopes and prospects. "Let empiricism once become associated with religion," James says, "as hitherto, through some strange misunderstanding, it has been associated with irreligion, and I believe that a new era of religion as well as of philosophy will be ready to begin."¹ This is a fine and eloquent hope, but it is not the ^{native} ~~old~~ hope of New England, which, in The Varieties of Religious Experience, made its last stand.

1. A Pluralistic Universe, p. 314.

Conclusion

The introspection which pervades New England literature is an inheritance from the religion of Puritan and Quaker. Through many changing forms, and under many cloaks and disguises, a consistent evolution or development may be traced from the earliest days to the writings of William James.

The development was characterized by a vague, persistent hope, first for supernatural revelation, later for the discovery of transcendental or intuitive truth, later for the discovery of new realms in the subconscious mind; and these hopes failing in turn, introspection prolonged itself in the form of intellectual or esthetic curiosity.

In the days of the Mathers and Jonathan Edwards lived mystics who professed to have supernatural revelations from God. Later, with the growth of deism, unitarianism, and other rational forms of faith, the belief in the supernatural abated; the old hope of introspection, to be with God in the joy of the mystic state, to some extent subsided, or remained latent in the consciousness of the people. New inflowing enthusiasm came with transcendental days; the old hopes and expectations were reawakened, not this time for some mere occasional supernatural communion, but for a perpetual inspiration and ecstasy. The natural, the transcendental fountains of truth were opened; now self-communion sufficed, for each man carried genius, an intuitive principle, a portion of the divinity in his own breast. The height of the wave was reached about 1843, with the publication of Emerson's Essays, the establishment of the Dial, the great increase of religious activity, and the founding of communistic

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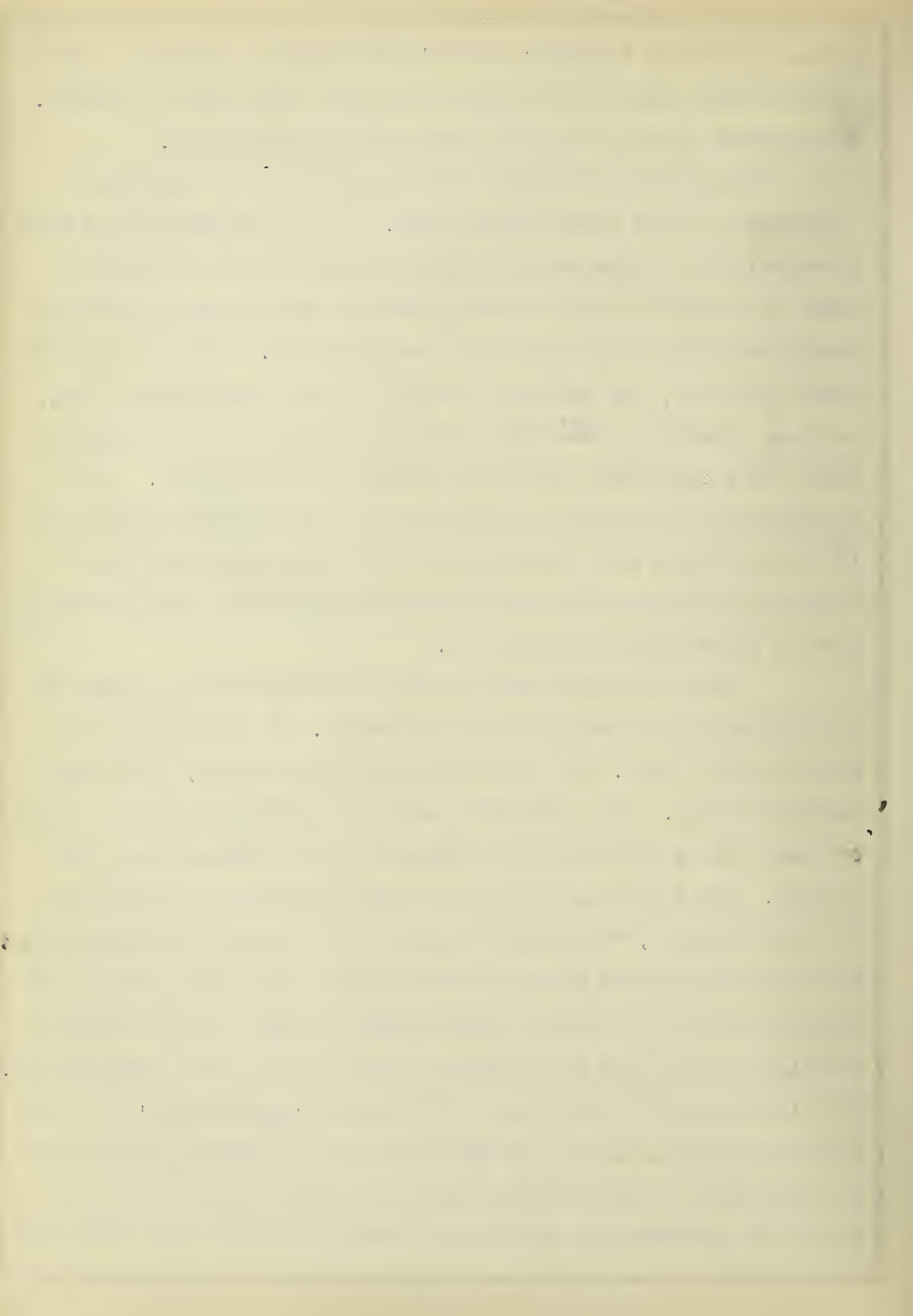
settlements and other enterprises looking toward the perfectibility of man. Soon the natural reaction came, and expressed itself permanently in the work of Hawthorne. The melancholy of Hawthorne does not express the Puritan mind --- as the critics unanimously affirm --- so much as it marks the ebb-tide of transcendental hopes. With increasing disillusionment Hawthorne retired from reality to allegory, and spoke in symbols, which with the transcendentalists were the language of the dawn, but in his case the twilight of belief.

A new buoyancy and exuberance came with Holmes, a hope to discover by introspection new worlds in the realm of the subliminal or the subconscious mind. Holmes inherited Emerson's optimism, but the facts of human nature which Emerson had called spiritual he interpreted as psychological. He looked on the transcendentalists with a skeptical yet sympathetic grin, for he had a rational prose explanation for their poetic raptures. The over-soul and the subconscious, though unlike in outward aspect, are really successive chapters in the development of introspection. Emerson's thought has an aerial cast; his metaphors have ascending connotations, an affinity with the stars. Holmes uses earthly or subterranean symbols, analogies which serve to trace the underground life of the mind, mysterious processes which go forward unconsciously "in the deep caves of thought". Yet the outward-seeming differences cannot conceal that there was a continuous development; Emerson and Holmes mark two successive stages in the old quest, the search for an unknown realm to be discovered by introspection. Transcendental thought came down out of the clouds, and transferred its interests to psychology. Thoreau scrutinized the instinctive acts of partridges and mud-turtles; Margaret Fuller increasingly hunted the

hidden springs of "genius"; Alcott's dithyrambic utterances turned more and more toward such themes as instinct and sleep and dreams. The tendency of all was out of religion into psychology.

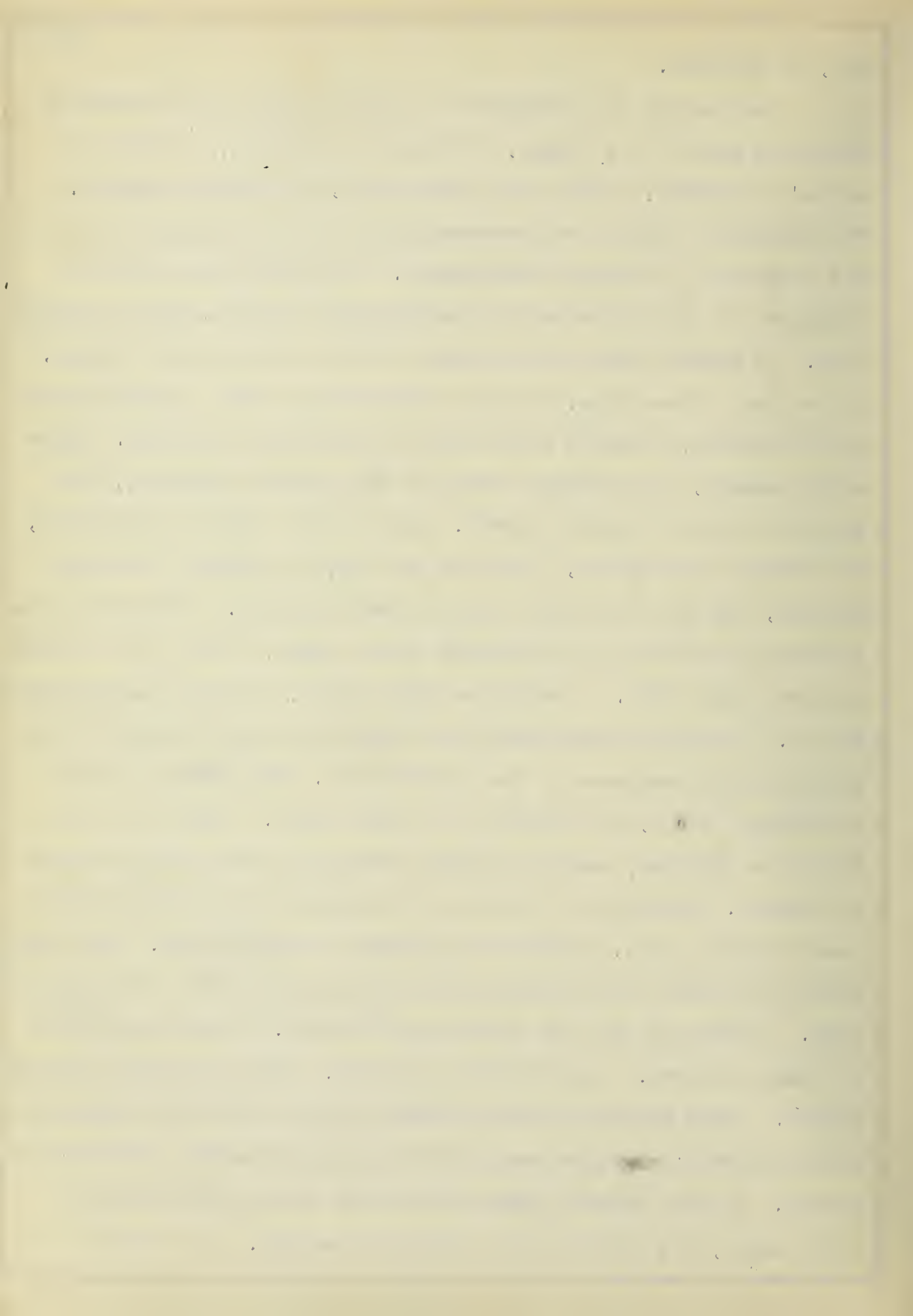
Holmes never reached any conclusion about the extent and importance of the subconscious realm. It led him dangerously near a mechanistic interpretation of nature, and it led him into the study of heredity, where for many problems which seemed mysterious enough he found simple and natural explanations. The hope for some great discovery, the absorbing interest in the subconscious life, declines somewhat in ^{his} the later works, or dissolves in philosophic humor for which Holmes often made himself his own object. The tendencies and interests of which Holmes is an exemplar culminated in William James, and a large part of what New England had been struggling to express for two centuries finally got itself written down in a text book on psychology.

James announced the finding of a "subconscious realm" to be the greatest discovery of his generation. He proceeded to explore the new field. But the triumph was short-lived, like transcendental hopes. The scientific method in philosophy made a convert of James at the point when his interest in the subconscious began to wane. About 1904 he forsook his early doctrines of the "stream of consciousness", "back-stairs ideas", for a world of pure experience. He retreated from the position which Emerson and a long line of New England writers had thought invulnerable; he lost faith in the possibility of any great new discovery in the realm of the subconscious. The final result of the greatest New England psychologist's gift of introspection was to tell us that the course of New England thought had been upon the wrong track, that the strange unknown good long sought by introspection could never, except in some tame utilitarian



way, be achieved.

The history of introspection in New England was therefore a wave-like ascent to a climax, followed by a decline, and after a period of latency, a rise to a second wave, and another decline. The successive decline and recrudescence of the New England spirit had a parallel in Western development. In frontier days the enthusiasm for gold and adventure swept across the West like a prairie fire. It spread across every desert and ran up into every canyon. It too was a Great Hope, the other hope which, after the inner hope of New England, formed a second epic in American literature. After a few decades, the restless energy of the frontier subsided, but only to a kind of uneasy slumber. Let the news come of cheap land, or forests to be ^{filled}~~filled~~, or oil to be dug, or a market to be exploited, and the old pioneer spirit flamed up anew. Or consider the revival of boom days in worked-out mining camps, which I have myself observed many times. The age of gold passes, and some one discovers silver. Up spring miraculously over night the institutions and the psychological phenomena of the old frontier. The silver is dug; enthusiasm ~~wanes~~, and people go to sleep again. Some one finds copper or tungsten, and the ferment revives and runs the same gamut of emotion. Through all the years of inaction the old hope of fortune remains latent, ready for the moment of opportunity. Much the same persistence and transmutation of hope may be seen in New England. There men once got revelation from God. Supernatural forces came to earth. Anything was possible. Then the age of miracles passed. Next dawned an era when human nature itself was perfectible, perhaps divine; ~~man~~ drew power from the transcendental reservoirs of nature. All the dormant expectations were reborn, flourished a brief while, and passed into a reluctant decline. At last a



psychological hope appeared; if a man cannot have an over-soul, he can at least have a "subconscious mind". Finally this appeared to have its limitations. Introspection then took the form of scientific curiosity, or of esthetic contemplation as in the work of Henry James the younger.

Professor Woodbridge Riley has attempted to show that Christian Science spread quickly in those parts of western America populated by the migrating Yankee, and he attributes the fact to the Yankee's fundamental susceptibility to mysticism.¹ A number of writers have attempted to trace the zeal for reform exhibited by the people of Kansas to the early migration from New England.² I might cite, too, what is a matter of recent observation, the way race prejudices and hopes lie dormant until a war or other climax of events brings them into action. Then the Frenchman remembers that he hates the German; old grievances and desires are resurrected. One might not have suspected the existence of these mental forces if a crisis had not summoned them from the deep consciousness of a people. In the same way the Puritan conscience made the ~~mind~~^{private} of New England vulnerable to all the hopes and maladies of introspection. Transcendentalism, Swedenborgism, spiritualism, one -ism after another swung to the zenith like a fiery sun, and subsided again whence it came into the turbulent ocean of private thought. History has never done justice to the New England mind, for introspection is non-social, and historians have their attention fixed on social crises, on statistics and external records. In literature only one is able to measure the depth and drift of private thought and emotion.

1. American Thought, p. 44.

2. See, for example, Stephens, Kate: American Thumb-prints.

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VITA

1884, October 2, Born, Blue Springs, Nebraska.

1899-1903, State Preparatory School of Colorado.

1907, B. A., University of Colorado.

1908-09, Assistant in English, University of Colorado.

1909, M. A., University of Colorado.

1909-12, Instructor in English, University of Colorado.

1912-13, Austin Scholar at Harvard University.

1913, A. M., Harvard University.

1913-18, Instructor in English, University of Illinois.

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